The Popes and the Revival of Learning

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the
Catholic University of America in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by the

REV. JOHN LINUS PASCHANG, M. A., J. C. D.
of the Diocese of Omaha

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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INTRODUCTION

Historians are rather well agreed that there are few, if any, more interesting periods in the annals of mankind than the transition of the Middle Ages to Modern Times. Not a few authors have yielded to the enchantments of this particular age and supplied the student world with a mass of historical works that is almost bewildering. To add another study would seem to border on presumption were it not that the author believes one particular phase of this transition to be deserving of special stress in our time.

We purpose in this dissertation to determine the relation that existed between the Papacy and one of the principal movements of the transition, namely, the Renaissance of learning. Owing to the Avignonian exile of the Popes it seemed proper to confine our study to the period beginning with the reign of Pope Martin V in 1417 and ending with the sacking of Rome in 1527, during the pontificate of Clement VII—a span of approximately one hundred years.

The study rests in the main upon three considerations, viz., the relation of the respective Popes to the prominent scholars of the time; their attitude towards the Vatican Library and the collecting of manuscripts, and finally, their interest, or lack of it, in the Roman University and schools of learning throughout Europe.

The material for this work has been drawn almost exclusively from recognized authorities. The author acknowledges his debt of gratitude to the historians of the Eternal City, Ferdinand Gregorovius and Alfred von Reumont, and especially to Dr. Ludwig Pastor, the illustrious historian of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages. In collecting the data on the relation of the Popes to the Universities he has relied chiefly on the works of Renazzi, La Fuente and Fournier. Finally the author desires to express his gratitude to all his professors, and especially to the Very Rev. Dr. Patrick J. McCormick, under whose direction this study was made.

CHAPTER I

Pope Martin V (1417-1431)

The Great Babylonian Exile of the Papacy to Avignon from 1305 to 1376 followed by the ever-regrettable Western Schism, which lasted until 1419 occasioned, what may safely be regarded, one of the most languid periods in the cultural life of the Christian Church. Many and perplexing problems of political, ecclesiastical, social and economic nature entered into this period, which proved highly prejudicial not merely to the spiritual ends of the Church, but likewise retarded the progress of the sciences and art, which, through her support, had gained such splendid recognition in Rome only a few decades previous.[1] Gregory XI, the last, as also the "best of the Avignon Popes" showed, indeed, a degree of interest in the advancement of knowledge. Upon hearing, for example, of the death of Petrarch he sent the Cardinal Vicar of the Church of Italy, Guillaume de Noellet, to search for the writings of this famous humanist, "and to have good copies made for him, especially of the Africa, the Eclogues, Epistles, Invectives and the beautiful work on the Solitary Life."[2] He also took measures to collect and preserve precious writings and encouraged the early Renaissance by admitting prominent scholars to his court. Innocent VII, too, was a lover of learning and by a famous Bull of September 1, 1406, made manifest his desire to bring back to Rome the study of the sciences and the arts. "He therefore summoned to the Roman University the most competent professors of every science. Not merely Canon and Civil Law, but also Medicine, Philosophy, Logic and Rhetoric were to be studied

1 Renazzi, *Storia dell 'Universita di Roma*, I, 56-109.
2 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I, 53.

in this school."[3] However, Innocent VII died a few months after the appearance of the Bull and "everything came to a standstill" until the termination of the Great Schism, by the happy elevation of Cardinal Oddone Colonna to the Chair of Peter.

The new Pope took the name of Martin V. He belonged to one of the most influential families of Rome and was known for his sound virtues no less than for his profound knowledge of Canon Law, which he had studied at Perugia. On his return to Rome in 1420 he found the city in a most deplorable condition. The troubled times of the last hundred years had left their sad marks upon the once glorious Capital of Christendom.[4] Poverty, famine, pestilence and untold evils had followed the transfer of the Papacy. Many of the citizens and especially the noble families of Rome had been forced to leave because of the lawless and revolutionary spirit ever rampant. Robbers and brigands preyed upon the helpless inhabitants by day and by night. Bloody feuds and bitter jealousies of long standing reached at this time their climax. The invasions of Ladislas, Sforza and Braccio, too, had wrought untold havoc. Platina thinks that civilization was on the verge of extinction and that the Romans resembled the scum of the earth.[5] "The world's Capital was completely in ruin, its aspect was deplorable, decay and poverty met the eye on every side. Famine and sickness had decimated its inhabitants and reduced the survivors to the direst need. The towers of the nobles looked down upon foul streets, encumbered with rubbish and infested with robbers both by night and by day. . . . The city in which these poor creatures lived consisted of a few miserable dwellings, scattered through a great field of ruin."[6] In the year 1257 the Senator

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[3] Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

[4] Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VI, 647.

[5] Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 353; Creighton, *History of the Papacy, during the Reformation*, II, 13.

[6] Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 215; Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 493.

Brancaleone had destroyed as many as 140 fortified houses of the noble families.[7]

The famous Greek scholar, Chrysoloras, who visited Rome at the end of the fourteenth century, writes to the Emperor John Palaeologus, of Constantinople, concerning the horrible condition of the once glorious city, and complains that with the exception of the Dioscuri hardly an ancient statute could be found standing. The monuments and sculptural works had been battered to pieces and cast into the limekilns, or used as material in the construction of houses and barns. He deems posterity fortunate in the fact that the inhabitants at this period did not resort to excavation, for, says he, everything that could be seen or was discovered was destroyed.[8] Poggio is equally eloquent in his lamentations over the ruins of this once beautiful city.[9] A very detailed account of the demolition and the ruins of the works of art is given by the illustrious Reumont in his *"Geschichte der Stadt Rom."* [10]

Properly to evaluate the gigantic task confronting Pope Martin V and his successors, of whom we shall speak in this dissertation, it is of utmost importance for the reader to have in mind a clear picture of the state and condition of Italy at this particular period. Without this picture, it will be practically impossible for him rightly to appreciate the noble efforts of the Popes, or to understand sufficiently their relation to the Revival of Learning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Martin V centered his attention upon the immediate needs of the Church and the Eternal City.[11] First of all he reconstructed the Roman churches and basilicas.

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7 Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 178.

8 Cf. Papencordt, *op. cit.*, 493 sqq.

9 Cf. *"Descriptio Urbis"* of Poggio, which forms part of his book, *"De Varietate Fortunae"* edited in 1723 by Domenico Giorgi, from the original MSS. Cf. Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 3 sqq.

10 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 8.

11 Cf. Papencordt, *op. cit.*, 496.

The Vatican which had fallen into ruin was rapidly repaired. The streets of the city were cleared, the rubbish removed and the robbers and brigands expelled.[12] The roof of St. Peter's was replaced with a new structure at the cost of 50,000 florins. St. John Lateran, which during the exile had suffered a devastating fire, was likewise renovated and painted. "The financial condition of Rome rapidly improved. The walls of the capitol were restored, the Palace of the Conservators was rebuilt and many gates and bridges over the Tiber were placed in proper condition."[13] Martin was especially zealous in restoring the splendor of the Church by new decorations, new and elaborately wrought vestments and furnishings, etc. His most glorious work was, however, the re-establishment of the Papal States. A task which, according to many, was regarded as impossible and superhuman.

In how far the activities of this zealous Pontiff reacted favorably upon the cultural and intellectual life of his reign cannot, of course, be accurately determined. It is not hard to conceive, however, that Rome, as it was before the coronation of Martin V, could never have become the very home and centre of the cultural movement that it turned out to be a half century later. "The restoration of the Papacy and the orderly reign of Martin V must necessarily have had a decided influence upon the intellectual life of the times."[14]

Yet it is only too true that Martin himself was not an enthusiastic scholar or a zealous humanist. The improvements that he made in Rome, affected few, if any, institutions of learning. It may be said, in fact, that the Pope, while learned himself, was but slightly interested in the Revival, which was asserting itself more and more. At the Council of Constance he, for example, admired all too little the scholarly attainments of the men that had met there. He very likely never realized the far-

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12 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 353.
13 Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 219.
14 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 305.

reaching significance of the Council for the advancement of the Renaissance. And whatever impetus the new movement which we call the Renaissance received during his pontificate, cannot be wholly laid to his credit. If anything, Martin V showed himself as definitely opposed to the resurrection of the old classics. At the translation of the Relic of St. Monica from Ostia to Rome, he preached a beautiful eulogy upon the life of the Saint, in the course of which he declared: "Then while we possess Augustine, what care we for the sagacity of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the prudence of Varro, the dignified gravity of Socrates, the authority of Pythagoras or the skill of Empedocles? We do not need these men; Augustine is enough for us. He explains to us the utterances of the prophets, the teaching of the Apostles, and the holy obscurity of Scripture. The excellences and the doctrine of all the Fathers of the Church and all wise men are united in him. If we look for truth, for learning, and for piety, whom shall we find more learned, wiser and holier than Augustine?" [15]

In the face of this solemn declaration, it is not a little surprising to observe that a fair number of the more brilliant humanists of the early fifteenth century found their way into the Vatican under the administration of this same pontiff. It may be said that practically all the men raised to the cardinalate at this time were individuals distinguished for their learning and scholarly attainments. Foremost among them was the devout Cardinal Giordona Orsini, of whom the Roman Senator, Lapo da Catisglionchio, wrote: "In this irreparable loss, which we have suffered by the destruction of so many works of antiquity, my only comfort is that Providence has bestowed you upon our age. You are the first for many centuries, who has endeavoured to revive the Latin tongue, and in great measure succeeded. In your declining years, you have undertaken most costly and danger-

15 Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 231; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, II, 42.

ous journeys to far distant places in order to find the buried treasures of antiquity. You alone have rescued many great men of former days from oblivion, and have brought to light not only unknown works of known authors, but also works by writers whose names we have never yet heard or read. By your exertions such a multitude of useful writings has been brought together as are enough to give occupation to the learned men of more than one city."[16] Equally brilliant as a scholar and lover of learning was the reputation of Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, the former professor of Canon Law at the University of Padua. Along with his solid training in the sacred sciences, he possessed an uncommon knowledge of the classics. The words of Voigt are deserving of our attention: "In Cesarini were united all the natural gifts and all the talents which mark the born ruler. Admiration was his, although he sought it not. A lasting impression was made on everyone who approached him, and there was an irresistible charm in his intellectual and beautiful features. He was grave and dignified in the presence of Princes, affable and genial with men of low degree. In social intercourse, the Cardinal seemed to give place to the man, and in the discharge of the high duties of his office, the man of the world, to the Prelate. His zeal for the Faith and for the Church, and his courteous manners, his deep and solid learning and his humanistic culture, his impassioned eloquence and the easy flow of his conversation, seemed each in turn to be a part of his nature."[17]

Another prominent figure in the Vatican under Martin V was the pious Cardinal Niccolo Albergati, in whose household the young Parentucelli, later Nicholas V, had spent so many years. Although Albergati ranked far inferior to Cesarini as a scholar, his talents were universally admired, and his acquaintance with many of

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[16] Taken from Mehus, *Epist. Trav. apud Pastor, op. cit.*, I. 273.

[17] Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*, I, 50. Translate in Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 266.

the secular humanists, served to open the doors of the Vatican to them. His saintly life places furthermore in eloquent relief the possibility of harmony between interest in the new Learning and sound Christian ideals.

Cardinal Domenico Capranica united with his reputation as a scholar, that of a successful bibliophile. In spite of his poverty he succeeded in collecting as many as two thousand books. "He possessed an uncommon wealth of information, especially in Canon Law." [18]

The Cardinals Prospero Colonna, Domingo Ram, Louis Aleman and Henry Beaufort, were all spoken of as learned and interested in the advancement of knowledge.

Of all the above-named cardinals it may be said that they excelled chiefly in the sacred sciences, and not so much in the humanities. In Cardinal Gregorio Correr we find a humanist as well as a theologian.[19]

"It was of inestimable importance," continues Reumont, "to have again men of such piety, learning and activity employed in the Supreme Council of the Pope —men who were convinced that they were bound by their own example to quash the accusations made against the clergy, and to meet the ever-increasing pressure of the new intellectual culture, by themselves taking part in the restoration of classical literature and the sciences." [20]

The Rome of Martin V knew no Vatican Library as such. Yet we are informed that Martin took steps to have the Papal Library, which had been taken to Avignon by Clement V, brought back to the Eternal City.[21] It is likely, however, that no important transfers took place until the reign of Eugene IV. We have only a few isolated instances where money was paid out for books at this time. Letters given to the public in comparatively

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18 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 309.

19 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 310.

20 Reumont, *Beitraege zur Italienischen Geschichte*, IV, 318. Translated in Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 271.

21 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e Siecle*, 1.

recent years tend to show, nevertheless, that Martin collected some manuscripts, had them bound and preserved. From these letters we can also learn of his love for scholarly works.[22]

Martin, furthermore, seems to have shown little of the interest in the Roman University that distinguished his successors. During his reign there were neither students in Rome to attend nor professors to teach. The regulations originally contemplated by the Popes were not enforced, and the institution rapidly declined.[23]

This fact, however, would not warrant the conclusion that the Pope was altogether indifferent to the needs of other seats of learning. Apparently, there were too many problems in the Eternal City demanding his energy and attention. In respect to other schools he manifested every solicitude becoming his exalted position.

As early as 1417 he drew up a Bull conferring special favors upon the University of Heidelberg, and later allowed that the Heiliggeistkirche be changed into a collegiate Church and joined to the University. Thus he provided a source of revenue for the institution and added at the same time to its prestige.[24]

In a Bull of February 13, 1419, Martin approved of the erection of the University of Rostock, and made special provisions for the financial needs of the school. He at the same time granted it a *studium generale* (except in theology) and all the privileges and rights enjoyed by other large Universities.[25] In the same year he granted a *studium generale* to the University of Copenhagen, which, however, never went into effect.[26]

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22 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 2-4.

23 Cf. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 310.

24 Cf. Bull of April 8, 1417, apud Hautz, J. F. *Geschichte der Universitaet Heidelberg*, I, 256, n. 11. Cf. Bull of Sept. 11, 1426, apud Hautz, I, 273, n. 61.

25 Krabbe, Otto, *Die Universitaet Rostock*, 39.

26 Krabbe, *op. cit.*, 40; cf. Bull of 1423, apud Krabbe, 58 sqq.

For the University of Salamanca, Martin decreed that the "*judex ordinarius studii ac praesentium executor, conservatores, etc.,*" should take the oath of office, before being admitted to their posts.[27] In 1431 he issued a Bull reforming the constitutions of the same University.[28]

The University of Louvain received from him the approval of a *studium generale.* He gave it also all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other prominent institutions of learning of Europe.[29]

In a Bull of January 29, 1422, Martin appointed bishop Guillermus Saurin to supervise the founding of a college at Mirepoix.[30] A month previous he had accorded to the Law School of Montpellier the privileges that the Universities of Toulouse and Orleans enjoyed.[31] He also organized the faculty of theology for this University, and exempted the members of the school of Law from the payment of taxes. To the students he extended special favors.[32]

The University of Nantes, as well as that of Dole, owe their foundation to the approval of this same Pope. Those who seek further testimony of Martin's devotion to scholarship might consult the Papal Bull with profit.[33]

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27 La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana,* I, 323.

28 La Fuente, *op. cit.,* I, 324. Martin V also granted the University of Valladolid a studium generale; cf. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitaeten des Mittelalters bis* 1400, 380.

29 *Privilegia Academiae Lovaniensi,* 1-5.

30 The Pontiff's devotion to scholastic endeavors can be ascertained, at least in part, from the language of this document: "*Dum attente consideratione indagine perscrutamur quod per literarum studia, cooperante illo a quo omnia carismatum dona manant, viri efficiuntur scientiis eruditi, rudes ad altiora concrescunt, et fides catholica roboratur, libenter, non solum loca ubi hujusmodi pollent studia et studentes in eis gratiis et libertatibus honoramus, sed etiam illisque pro hujusmodi studiorum subsistentia et favores provide facta sunt, ut illibata consistant cum nobis petitur apostolice confirmationis munimine roboramus.*" Cf. Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises,* No. 791. Cf. also Nos. 1589 and 1590.

31 "*Ut quanto magis fidem apostolicam in ipsorum et dicti studii honoris augmentum favorabile invenerint et benignam, tanto magis eam studeant devocius revereri.*" Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.,* No. 1091.

32 Fournier, *op. cit.,* Nos. 1092, 1096.

33 Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.,* Nos. 1589, 1611.

It would seem, then, that Martin V, while not as enthusiastic a humanist as some of his successors, nevertheless did the cause of the Renaissance no mean service. In a direct manner he promoted learning by assisting deserving institutions in diverse ways, and by raising scholarly clerics to ecclesiastical positions. Indirectly the new Movement for intellectual advancement profited by the happier and healthier conditions occasioned by his benign reign. In more than one sense could the people of Rome therefore call him the "*temporum suorum felicitas*" and "the Father of his Country."[34]

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[34] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, II, 28.

CHAPTER II

Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447)

Gabriel Condulmaro, later Eugene IV, was a nephew of Pope Gregory XII. Born at Venice, he spent his youthful years in a Monastery at Alga, until urged by Gregory XII to accept the bishopric of Bologna. From here he was transferred to the See of Siena and raised to the dignity of a Cardinal. In 1431 he was elected Pope.

Eugene IV was not, like some of the other members of the Sacred College, a man of great learning. Platina describes him as "an indifferent Scholar, though a knowing man, especially in history."[1] Nor was he skilled in the affairs of the world. His monastic training remained with him for life, so much so, that "he remained untouched by the Renaissance movement."[2] "He possessed none of the fine culture of his successor, and whereas he listened patiently to many of the eulogies of the humanists, he was and remained essentially a monk."[3]

It was during the sojourn of the Pope and his Curia at Florence, that the personnel of the Vatican became for the first time acquainted with the new tendencies in Italy. Florence was at this time the centre of culture and learning, the home of scholars and humanists. Eugene and his court could not escape the influence of the savants with whom they came and lived in closest contact. The convocation of the Council of Basel also reacted upon the relations of the Papacy to the New Culture in a striking manner. The differences between the Oriental peoples and the Holy See were happily bridged over. Knowledge of the Greek tongue grew immediately

1 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 371.
2 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I, 303.
3 Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien*, 10.

imperative for the official business of the Apostolic Chancery. "Eugene required men who were able to translate Greek, and to hold personal interviews and disputations with the representatives of the Greek Church, and accordingly, though himself untouched by the spirit of the Renaissance, he was constrained to take a number of eminent scholars, who were Humanists, into his service."[4] It was a golden opportunity for the men of letters.

Already at his elevation Eugene IV found in the Curia the literary veteran, Poggio Bracciolini, who since the days of Boniface IX had been in the papal service.[5] Poggio was an Apostolic Secretary and held a rather lucrative position. He was well known to the Pope, since both had served in the Curia of Cardinal Albergati; yet he had little "affection for the Church or for any of the Popes whom he served" although, according to Platina, Eugene loved him, as also the other humanists of his court.[6] Poggio was an elegant writer, a very successful searcher for manuscripts, but a thorough-going representative of the False Renaissance.[7]

Flavio Biondo was brought to the Vatican by Eugene shortly before the transfer of the Curia to Florence. He was a prominent scholar and a most faithful scribe and secretary. Though not as talented nor as learned as some of his contemporaries, Biondo made valuable contributions to the cause of learning.[8] He dedicated to Eugene his work "*Roma Instaurata.*" Nicholas V he hon-

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4 Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 318.

5 The officials of the Curia were generally appointed for life. The pope could indeed remove them, but this happened rarely.

6 Platina, *op. cit.*, I, 372; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung d. classischen Alterthums*, II, 17 sqq.

7 Cf. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XX, 169. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1, 57; and more recent writers on this prominent humanist.

8 Cf. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 312. "*Ein Mann dessen Arbeiten der Alterthumswissenschaft in engerm Sinne und der Geschichte mehr zugute gekommen sind als die Studien aller seiner Zeitgenossen.*"

ored with the "*Italia Illustrata,*" whereas Pius II received from him the "*Roma Triumphans.*" [9]

The demand for Greek scholars induced Eugene IV to invite to the Vatican the humanist, George of Trebizond. He held the position of secretary. Nicholas V requested of him translations from the Greek.[10]

Maffeo Vegio, the Vatican datary and abbreviator, was a representative of the Christian Renaissance. He devoted himself chiefly to ecclesiastical literature, and deserves special mention for his efforts to combine the "wisdom of the classics with the Bible and the teaching of the Church." His work "*de educatione liberorum*" is a striking example of the ideals of the Christian humanists, and reflects most favorably upon the institution of which he was a member.[11]

Eugene raised to the position of Apostolic Secretary also the gifted Greek scholar, Giovanni Aurispa, who, as an interpreter, had discharged important functions at Basel. Aurispa was a diligent searcher for manuscripts, and saved precious copies of the ancients from destruction, when the Turks razed the library of Byzantium.[12]

To this period of the Renaissance belong also the humanists Ciriaco of Ancona and Ambrogio Traversari. Both were employed by Eugene. To the latter belongs the distinction of having been the "first to introduce humanistic influences into the ecclesiastical sphere." [13]

Besides these well-known scholars there were many less celebrated individuals in the service of the Pope. It seems, however, that Eugene endeavored to be careful in the selection of his help. Although the tendencies of the Pagan Renaissance were not, at this stage, so clearly

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9 Loserth, *Geschichte des Mittelalters von* 1197-1492, 634.

10 Cf. Symonds, *Revival of Learning,* 210, 228, sqq.

11 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.,* I, 44.

12 Cf. Simonde de Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe,* I, 287. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship,* II, 36 sqq.

13 Pastor, *op. cit.,* I. 41. Sandys, *op. cit.,* II, 39.

discernible, the Pope was not unconscious of the dangers with which the whole revival was fraught. He sternly refused, for example, to receive the dissolute Valla, though this talented humanist begged, in eloquent style, the forgiveness of his former rashness, and offered "his service and his measures against Beccadelli's disgraceful book." "It is probable," writes Pastor, "that he (Eugene) would have opposed it (the Pagan Renaissance) in a far more energetic manner, had not the contest with the Council of Basel taxed all his powers to the utmost, and made the greatest consideration towards the Humanists with their ready pens a necessity. The Pope feared them, because, as he once observed, they were not wont to pass over an injury and because they could avenge themselves with weapons which were hard to parry." [14]

As noted before, it was during Eugene's reign that the Papal Library was brought back from Avignon to Rome. Rossello Rosselli and Bartolommeo Broncacci supervised the transfer.[15] Although this enterprise proves that the Pope loved books and appreciated their value, he added only a few new manuscripts to the Library. An inventory taken of the library at this time shows that the total number of books was only three hundred and forty. Theology, Canon Law, and Scholastic Philosophy were naturally in the majority, although a number of copies of the ancient classics were also found. Some of the works of Boccaccio, Petrarch, Maffeo Vegio, Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo and Ambrogio Traversari were added likely by Eugene himself.[16]

Yet Eugene's reluctant indorsement of humanism does not warrant the conclusion that he was opposed to every

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14 Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 306.

15 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e Siecle*, 5.

16 Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.*, 5-8.

kind of scholastic endeavor. Few, if any, of the Popes of the Renaissance era, showed a keener interest in the Roman University than he. This institution, like the rest of the Eternal City, had suffered severely during the exile and the schism. And though Innocent VII had issued a Bull contemplating its restoration, the prescriptions of said instrument were never realized owing to the untimely death of its author. Eugene, in the very first year of his reign, bought a number of private dwellings in the central quarter of S. Eustachi, and had the new seat of learning established there, in order to make the University more accessible from all parts of the city. On October 10, 1431, he issued a Papal Bull which, together with subsequent enactments,[17] placed the educational advantages of Rome upon a solid footing.[18]

As rector of the University Eugene appointed Giovanni le Jeune the Camerlengo of the Roman Church. He was assisted by four vice-rectors, chosen from twelve candidates presented by the city.[19] The University was given a "*studium generale in qualibet facultate*" with the privileges and rights of other similar institutions.[20] The above-named Bull made provisions likewise for the financial needs of the school by placing a tax upon all

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17 Cf. Briefs of Feb. 23, 1434; May 26, 1434, and Oct. 10, 1432, apud Renazzi, *Storia Dell 'Universita di Roma*, I, 276 sqq.

18 A short excerpt from this document may serve to acquaint the reader with the Pontiff's attitude towards learning: "*Hanc profecto, nimirum inter ceteras Urbes sub Christianae Religione Fidei militantes, uberioris affectionis gratia prosequimur studiosius, et Apostolici muniminis praesidiis, et condignis libentius gratiis honoramus: Ideo ferventi non immerito desiderio ducimur, quod eadem Urbs, quam Divina Bonitas tot gratiarum dotibus insignivit, et humano Generi Singulari sua sapientia Leges dedit, et per artium doctrinarumque praecepta, et virtutum exempla universum Orbem salutari lumine illustravit, Scientiarum etiam fiat facunda muneribus; ut Viros producat consilii maturitate conspicuos, virtutum redimitos ornatibus, ac diversarum Facultatum dogmatibus eruditos, sitque ibi fons Scientiarum irriguus, et cujus plenitudine hauriant universi litteralibus cupientes imbui documentis. Ad hunc igitur universalem profectum non solum Incolarum Urbis ipsius, ac circumpositae Regionis, sed et aliorum, qui praeter hoc quasi continuo de diversis Mundi partibus confluunt ad eamdem, studio paternae solicitudinis intendentes. . . .*" Apud Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 274.

19 Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 119 sq. Cf. also Bull of Oct. 10, 1431.

20 Cf. Bull of Oct. 10, 1431.

the wine imported into the city. The surplus money was to be spent for the education of poor scholars.[21]

Previous to the destruction of the University, Rome had always been looked upon as the center of theological and juridical studies. Eugene made Latin the principal chair. Due to the Pope's desire to bring back the Oriental Churches, a new impetus was given to the study of Greek. George of Trebizond was appointed professor of Latin and Greek. The Law courses were under the attention of Antonio Roselli, Ludovico Pontano, Andrea Santa Croce and Antonio Caffarelli.[22]

The restoration of the University alone would seem sufficient proof that Pope Eugene IV was a real promoter of Learning. In the words of Denifle, it will always be an "ineffable glory for the name of Eugene IV." [23]

But other institutions of learning shared as well the devotion of this Pointiff.

By a Bull of October 8, 1432, he created a faculty of Theology, Arts and Medicine in the University of Angers.[24] The preceding year he had indorsed the erection of the University of Poitiers. The Bull "*Dum in hoc procelloso*" of May 29, 1431, shows again Eugene's interest in academic affairs.[25]

In 1431 he issued a Bull to protect the property of the University of Salamanca, of its professors and students.[26] For the University of Heidelberg he confirmed the privileges granted to it by Boniface IX.[27] At Rostock he allowed the establishment of a theological faculty, and

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21 Cf. Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 201.

22 Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 128; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VII, 505.

23 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 303. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitaeten des Mittelalters bis* 1400, 313 sq.

24 Cf. Fournier, *les Statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises*, no. 472; Also Bull of Sept. 10, 1435, apud Fournier, no. 476.

25 Fournier, *op. cit.*, no. 1719.

26 La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana*, I, 325.

27 Hautz, *Geschichte der Universitaet Heidelberg*, I, 174.

granted said faculty, together with the power of conferring degrees, all the privileges and rights enjoyed by the other faculties of this same University.[28] Louvain, too, through the Bull of March 9, 1431, received permission to have a faculty of Theology. Eugene, at the same time, confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors and conferred some new favors upon the institution.[29]. Finally from the Papal Briefs of October 24, 1437, and February 5, 1438, to the University of Avignon, we conclude that the relations between the Pope and this school must have been very friendly.[30]

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28 The Bulls are given by Krabbe, *Die Universitaet Rostock*, 62 sq.
29 *Privilegia Academiae Lovaniensi*, 40-56.
30 Apud Fournier, *op. cit.*, nos. 1324, 1325.

CHAPTER III

Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455)

Scholar and Humanist

The election of Tommaso Parentucelli as successor to Eugene IV brought to the Pontifical throne a single-hearted lover of learning and a sympathetic patron of the new Culture. He assumed the name of Nicholas V.

Of the early training of the new Pope we know very little, except that he attended the schools of Bologna, graduated from them, and tutored in some influential homes in Florence. The attainments of his later years can be explained only on the basis of natural talent, hard application and love for the things of the mind. In fact, there are not wanting historical records to show that Tommaso had acquired a reputation at Bologna for his retentive memory, his incessant labors and his devotion to his studies.[1] At the Council of Florence "his familiarity with Patristic and Scholastic Theology gave him a prominent place in the discussions with the Greek Bishops."[2] Vespasiano fosters the opinion that his very election to the Papacy was due in no small measure to the exceptional skill with which Parentucelli addressed the assembled prelates on the occasion of Eugene's death.[3]

To the humanistic world Nicholas V was well known. When still a servant in the home of Cardinal Albergati he spent much of his time in the company of the literati.

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1 Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 224.

2 Scannel, in Catholic Ency. art. "*Nicholas V.*" cf. Manetti, *Vita Nicolai V. in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III, 2, 912.

3 Oratorical powers were appreciated exceedingly at this period. "It now became an indispensible element and ornament in all elevated lives." Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 234.

"It was the wont of Messer Lionardo d'Arezzo, Messer Giannozzo Manetti, Messer Poggio, Messer Carlo d'Arezzo, Messer Giovanni Aurispa, Maestro Gasparo da Bologna and many other men of learning to congregate every morning and evening at the side of the Palazzo, where they entered into discussions and disputes on various subjects. As soon then, as Maestro Tommaso had attended the Cardinal to the Palazzo, he joined them, mounted on a mule with two servants on foot; and generally he was attired in blue, and his servants in long dresses of a darker color. . . . In the place I have named he was always to be found, conversing and disputing, since he was a most impassioned debater."[4] His elevation to the most influential post in Christendom was quite naturally, therefore, a cause of universal rejoicing among the devotees of the new Movement.

Though Florence was at this time the Athens of Italy, all eyes were directed to the Seven Hills, expecting the dawn of a new era in learning and culture. For it was clear that the success of the humanistic exertions was not dependent upon a nation or aggregate of individuals, but rather upon men of power and authority. "The Italian history of the Renaissance," says Symonds, "resumes itself in the biography of men greater than their race, or mental despots who absorbed its forces in themselves."[5] The sentiments of the scholars are best crystallized in the letter of congratulations of Francesco Barbaro, when quoting Plato he "counts the world happy, since now the wise are becoming its rulers and its rulers are becoming wise."[6]

Without doubt one of the strongest ambitions of Nicholas, on his accession to the throne, was to use his influence as Pope in the promotion of learning and culture. Especially concerned was he about the introduction of

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4 Vespasiano, *Commentario della Vita di Papa Niccola, in Muratorius, op. cit.*, XXV, 280—in Symonds, *op. cit.*, 224.

5 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 4.

6 Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 165.

Greek literature into Italy. Had he been more successful in this respect, many of the evils that followed upon the Revival would likely have been arrested; for "the main evil of the early Renaissance was its ignorance of Greek."[7] Rome was now to become the centre of the cultured world, a fitting city for the Papacy, "a focus of literature and art, a city of splendid monuments, possessing the finest library in the world."[8]

Scholars from every part of the civilized world were invited to the Eternal City and assured of the Pope's hospitality. Yet the Roman people themselves seemed, at least in the beginning, peculiarly apathetic, if not positively adverse to the new Culture. Their attitude and lack of enthusiasm challenges a satisfactory explanation to this day. Whereas Florence could boast of cultured families as the Albizzi, Acciajuoli, Medici, Pazzi, Rucellai, Strozzi, Soderini, Ricci, Pandolfini, etc., who gladly used their wealth and influence in the erection of massive palaces, churches and libraries, the collection of books and manuscripts and the advancement of learning, Rome had few if any enthusiastic patrons or sponsors of the Revival of Learning. The positive revolt of a humanist like Stefano Porcaro, and the leaders of the Republican Opposition, rendered the endeavors of Nicholas all the harder. The greater must our admiration of him therefore be, when we see, that within the period of a few years, in the face of opposition and apathy, he "single-handed turned the capital of Christendom into that brilliant centre of art and learning that it became."[9] Aside from a few learned Cardinals, prelates or nobles, Nicholas, for the realization of his plans, had to look for talent from neighboring centres and foreign countries.[10] In his search he was not disappointed. "All the scholars

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[7] Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 200.

[8] Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 166; Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 318.

[9] Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 195.

[10] Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 322.

in the world," writes Vespasiano, "came to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas, partly of their own accord, and partly at his request, because he desired them there."[11] Although we can appreciate a certain degree of exaggeration in this statement, it will appear that the Pope was supremely successful in attracting the literary and learned talent of the time to his court. Tersely stated in the words of Villari, "Nicholas would have been glad to have transported the whole of Florence to the banks of the Tiber had this been possible."[12]

The gifted Poggio Bracciolini remained in the Curia as an Apostolic Secretary. He was well known to Nicholas, and therefore found it in no way unbecoming to declare in his letter of congratulation to Nicholas his own wishes and hopes as well as those of his friends. "I beseech you, Holy Father," he writes, "not to forget your old friends, nor suffer your care of them to grow slack, because you have many other cares. Take measures to increase the number of those who resemble yourself, so that the liberal arts which in these bad days seem almost extinct, may revive and flourish again. From you alone we hope for what has so long been neglected by others. To you is entrusted the glorious mission of restoring philosophical studies to their former honour and pre-eminence, and resuscitating the nobler arts."[13]

Nicholas encouraged Poggio to continue his search for rare books and manuscripts, and assisted him with letters of recommendation and gifts of money. Francesco Barbaro well describes the zeal of Poggio: "Nothing prevented him from obtaining the master-pieces of literature, neither the cold or snow of winter, nor the length or inconvenience of the journey."[14] Poggio also produced a number of original works. Of these, some, as for example, the *"Unhappiness of Princes"* were dedicated to

11 Vespasiano, *op. cit.*, Muratorius, *op. cit.*, XXV, 279.
12 Villari, *Niccolo Machiavelli u. seine Zeit*, I, 57.
13 Cf. pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 194.
14 Francesco Barbaro, in *Muratorius, op. cit.*, XX, 169.

Nicholas, others, like the philippic against the anti-pope Amadeus of Savoy, were written at the express request of the Pope. The translations of the "*History of Diodorus Siculus*" and Xenophon's "*Cyropaedia*" were likewise made because Nicholas requested them.

George Trebizond was put to the task of converting into Latin the works of Gregory Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Basil and Eusebius of Caesarea. Trebizond was, however, neither a learned nor an accurate translator. His rendition of the Laws of Plato proved especially unsatisfactory. Because of his spiteful and boastful disposition Nicholas was eventually forced to dismiss him.[15]

One of the most important figures of the Pope's family at this time was Cardinal Bessarion, a prelate of the Greek Church, and a passionate collector of books.[16] He translated for the Pope Aristotle's "*Metaphysics*" whilst Theodore Gaza, another Greek, rendered into Latin the "*History of Animals*" and the "*History of Plants.*"

The first and foremost Florentine that came to Rome under Nicholas was Leon Battista Alberti, who is known better in the history of Architecture than in the history of humanism. While in Rome, however, he produced various works, especially on art, "which are landmarks and authorities of the first order for the Renaissance of form, especially in architecture."[17] The encouragement which Alberti received from Nicholas induced him to write in Latin various elegies, eclogues, humorous dinner-speeches, some philosophical, moral and historical works, and a treatise in four books on domestic life.[18]

The Florentine Orator, Gionozzo Manetti, was one of the most intimate friends and co-laborers of Nicholas. It seems unfortunate indeed, that, owing to his exceedingly busy life in Florence, he found it impossible to

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15 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 202, footnote.
16 Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 247.
17 Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy*, 137.
18 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 183-219.

associate himself with the Roman Curia until the last year of Nicholas' life. Manetti surpassed all the scholars of his day in the knowledge of Hebrew. Nicholas' first request was for a translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew. His knowledge of Jewish history and language fitted him especially for a work dear to the heart of the Pope, in the form of an apology of Christendom against the Jews and Heathens. The work was called "*Contra Judaeos et Gentes.*" Ten books of the apology as also a translation of the four Gospels, the Epistles and the Apocalypse were finished at the time of the demise of the Pontiff. Manetti now retired to the home of King Alfonso, where he finished the apology, and translated the remaining books of the New Testament. One of his last works was the biography of Nicholas V and Alfonso. Posterity must be grateful to him inasmnch as he "placed his erudition solely at the service of the Christian Faith."[19]

The keenest and most scholarly of the Pope's employees was without doubt Lorenzo Valla, who had received a thorough humanistic training under Bruni, Rinucius and Aurispa. Nicholas, unlike Eugene IV, made him an Apostolic Notary, in spite of his dissolute life. He made a translation of Thucydides and also began a translation of Herodotus, but never finished it.

A fit companion for Valla was the talented Greek scholar, Filelfo. He came to Rome in 1453, and though he was known to be "the most adventurous and reprobate of the literary men of his time, Nicholas besought him for a translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey, offering him as a reward, "a house in Rome, an estate in the country and a pay of ten thousand golden ducats."[20] Owing to the untimely death of Nicholas, the task was never finished.

Perotti, at the request of the Pope, successfully translated Polybius. The translation of the Geography of

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19 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 189.

20 Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1, 58.

Strabo was effected by Guarino of Verona. Piero Candido Decembrio, undertook the task of converting Appian to please His Holiness. At this time a special work appeared also on Canon Law from the pen of Cardinal Torquemada. Antonio degl'Agli was requested to write a work on the Lives of the Saints. Giovanni Aurispa, Bartolommeo da Monte Pulciano and Antonio Loschi occupied less important positions in the Curia of Nicholas, affording them more time to devote their talents exclusively to literary endeavors.

These may be regarded the outstanding scholars and humanists employed by Nicholas V. A long list of minor figures might be added, but, we fear, to little purpose. It will be sufficiently clear that the enthusiastic expression of Vespasiano quoted above is at least in part true. Those whom we have named above were, without doubt, the foremost leaders of the new movement for learning and culture of that period.

Nicholas, on his part, was most appreciative of their talents. He paid them richly and honored them highly for their labors. "This noble Pope might have been well represented with a cornucopia in his hand, showering gold on scholars and artists. Few men have had ampler experience of the happiness of giving towards worthy ends."[21] He gave Valla five hundred scudi for the rendition of Thucydides. Guarino was paid one thousand scudi for the translation of Strabo. Perotti received five hundred ducats for Polybius. Manetti was promised an annual pension of six hundred scudi to make his studies possible. He had special sympathy for the poverty of worthy scholars, and nothing seemed more unbecoming to him than that these should suffer want.[22]

But gifted as the above-named individuals were in letters and scholarship, in their private lives many of

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[21] Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* VII, 524—translated in Pastor, II, 200. Cf. also Burckhardt, *op. cit.,* 225.

[22] Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung d. classischen Alterthums,* II, 56.

them were undeserving of the esteem in which they were held by their contemporaries. And when we regard the high ideals which Nicholas had set for himself in espousing the cause of the Revival, it seems unfortunate indeed, that he was bound to surround himself with men, whose conduct cast such unholy reflections upon the institution with which they became so closely associated. How painful an experience it is, for example, to those who love Christian ideals no less than learning, to read of the earlier dissipations of men like Poggio, Valla, Marsuppini and Filelfo, and see them within a brief period raised to the most deferential positions in the sacred offices. Is it possible that the "interest in style had already overpowered, even in the head of Christendom any feeling of decorum not to say of morality?"[23] This we can hardly assume. We cannot believe but that the conduct of these men must have been supremely disgusting to a Pontiff, "a great part of whose life had been spent in the close companionship of a saint,"[24] and who "was also sincerely pious." Surely it was not an indifference to faith and morality that induced Nicholas to invite Filelfo to Rome, "entertain him with distinction, read his infamous satires, present him with a purse of five hundred ducats and offer him a yearly stipend of six hundred if he would dedicate his talents to translations."[25] It was not a blind enthusiasm that led him to accept, "from the unprincipled Poggio the dedication of a pamphlet in which Eugene IV was almost openly accused of hypocrisy, and did not scruple in raising his salary so as to enable him to live entirely by his muse."[26] It was not a readiness to compromise with the pagan tendencies of the Renaissance that urged him to receive the biting and dissolute Valla, who had so frequently emptied the vials of his satire upon the

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23 Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, II, 341.

24 Though never formally canonized Albergati has long been popularly venerated. Cf. Acta SS. II, May, 469, sqq.

25 Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 285.

26 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, II, 197.

Pontificate, and make him a distinguished apostolic notary. Nor was it a lack of disciplinary supervision and adminstrative ability that was responsible for the rise of strained relations and heated encounters so conspicuous of his court.

Nicholas invited the above-named individuals not because of their shortcomings, but in spite of them. The employment that he gave them and the invitation extended to them must not be regarded as a formal indorsement of their conduct, past or present. It may be said, and this without much danger of error, that he invited them chiefly on the ground of expediency. Valla, as a matter of fact, was never formally invited, but merely tolerated. The honorary office conferred upon him reveals an element of tact used by Nicholas to gain dangerous forces. He saw, "that humanism would be less disastrous to the Vatican as an uncongenial inmate than as an irrepressible critic,"[27] for, as is well known, the leaders of the Movement exercised a colossal influence upon Italian society of that period.[28] As friends of the Papacy and the Church they were in position to accomplish immeasurable good for the cause of the Christian Renaissance, as enemies they could do untold harm to this same cause. So Nicholas graced them with his favor and showered them with his gifts, not to encourage them in their dissipations, but rather to draw them away from the unholy influences of the past and marshal their talents for the noblest enterprises in the future. In this he was true to his earlier ideals. "to reconcile" namely, "the buoyant life and beauty-loving pagan Renaissance with the principles of Christianity, to breathe the spirit of peace upon the combatants, and to adopt for the second time in her history, all that could be made to serve the purpose of the Church in that Hellenic aestheticism, which appealed so powerfully to the new age."[29]

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[27] *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 546.
[28] Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 329; Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, I, 367, 529, II, 346.
[29] Stone, *Reformation and Renaissance*, 111. Symonds, *op. cit.*, 285.

The regrettable aspect of the case was that Nicholas had had no more enthusiastic promoters of learning and letters as his predecessors. Many of the abuses of the Renaissance, we believe, would never have made their appearance, had it been possible for Martin V and Eugene IV to devote more of their attention to the new Spirit that was sweeping over Italy. Considering the times we must marvel at the achievements of Nicholas in safeguarding the movement from developing into a positive and unrestrained return to pagan ideals. Allowing certain imprudences that may justly be laid to his charge, Nicholas "remained one of the purest figures of the Renaissance." [30] Prior to his well-organized endeavors there were but few Christian writers represented among the works that Poggio and his fellows rescued from an age-long obscurity, and the welcome accorded to these by the humanists was theirs at Latinists rather than as theologians.[31] Nicholas, though deeply interested in the profane authors, can truly be said to have loved the Scriptures and the Fathers more.

Furthermore, to adjudicate Nicholas' position fairly, it should be borne in mind that, although the number of humanists and scholars was increasing day by day, only a limited few were versed in Greek sufficiently to attempt translations. By far the vast majority of the Italian people were entirely ignorant of hellenic culture. But, as stated above, what the Renaissance movement needed most of all was a more extensive knowledge of the Greek masterpieces. "Had the culture of the humanists been derived directly from Greek sources, rather than from the degenerate Roman civilization, the whole later development of the Movement would have been different." [32] Nicholas was neither blind nor indifferent to the situation. He made every possible effort to meet it.

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30 Baudrillart, *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism*, 57.

31 Cambridge, *Modern History*, II, 594.

32 Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that many of the humanists whom Nicholas invited possessed valuable libraries and rare literary treasures, which were in this way made accessible to his skilled copyists and translators. Aurispa, for example, had many Greek manuscripts, which he had gathered at Constantinople. Filelfo likewise could boast of a rare collection of books.

In support of the above contentions, we feel urged to add a brief statement from Creighton's History of the Papacy, "Besides the prevailing fashion of the age," says the illustrious historian, "the struggle against the Council of Basel and the negotiations with the Greeks had led the Papacy to feel the need of learned and literary champions of the new school. While the Italian courts patronized literary adventurers who were ready, like Lorenzo Valla, to use their pens against the Pope, even a monk like Eugenius IV did not venture to repulse the new learning. While the Council of Basel was a field where ambitious scholars might flesh their pens in invectives against the Pope, the papacy could not afford to dispense with literary gladiators. The Council of Florence brought to the West a train of learned Greeks whose help was useful to the Latin theologians in combating the metaphysics of the orthodox party among the Greeks. The Papacy was too much indebted to the Humanists to repudiate them. Nicholas V placed himself at their head, and was a patron of scholars, whom he employed in making known the records alike of classical and biblical antiquity. He was without fear of the results, and showed no consciousness of the antogonism between the traditions of the Church and the lore of the ancients." [33]

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[33] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 39 (ed. 1897).

CHAPTER IV

Pope Nicholas V and the Library

To understand properly the services rendered to the cause of learning by the noble patrons of the Renaissance we should not neglect to note that during the centuries that immediately preceded the invention of printing, manuscripts were both scare and costly. The multiplication of them was a tedious and slow process. The price of parchment remained high. Even the best of the so-called "libraries" associated with the Universities, cathedrals and schools, could boast of only a very limited number of literary treasures. "The Popes and princes and even the great religious institutions possessed far fewer books than many farmers of the present age. The library belonging to the Cathedral of S. Martino at Lucca, in the ninth century, contained only nineteen volumes of abridgements from ecclesiastical commentaries. The Cathedral of Novara in 1212 could boast copies of Boethius, Priscian, the Code of Justinian, the Decretals and the Etymology of Isidorus, besides a Bible and some devotional treatises."[1]

This dearth of books was of special concern in shaping the pedagogical science and practice of the time. As the classics were the chief source from which knowledge and culture were drawn during the Revival, the scarcity of copies constituted a serious problem to teacher and pupil alike. Memory work formed, perhaps, the chief factor, and all lectures had to be dictated. The pupils committed them to writing, including even the notes and comments. As one author puts it: "A book had been

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1 Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 128. Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VII, 511.

dictated and as many scores of copies as there were attentive pupils had been made."[2]

The professors likewise labored under disadvantages unknown to the modern profession. The absolute lack of accessible reference libraries, deemed so indispensable in these days, obligated them to a vast knowledge of antiquity and demanded a gigantic mind.[3]

This, too, explains, at least in part, the mundivagant life so characteristic of the teacher of humanism. Having dictated his course of lectures to a class of ambitious aspirants in one city it was but natural that he should look for an indulgent class in another.

Allowing now that the educational theories and methods of the Renaissance period left much to be desired, it cannot be doubted that one of the chief and most obstinate handicaps to the advancement of learning as a whole was the scarcity of books and manuscripts.[4] The sciences of theology, philosophy, law and medicine were, of course, not so unusually affected by this dearth as the liberal arts and the studies of antiquities. And "had it not been for the enthusiasm of a few collectors of that age, who shrank from no effort or privation in their researches, we should certainly possess only a small part of the literature, especially that of the Greeks, which is now in our hands."[5] Nicholas himself was not a pedagogue or educational theorist. His talents were rather in the direction of collecting, arranging, criticising and editing works already in existence.[6] His service, therefore, to the advancement of learning and the cause

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2 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 126.

3 "It was therefore necessary for the lecturer to dictate quotations, to repeat parallel passages at full length, to explain geographical and historical allusions, to analyze the structure of sentences in detail, to provide copious illustrations of grammatical usage, to trace the stages by which a word acquired its meaning in a special context, to command a full vocabulary of synonyms, to give rules for orthography, and to have the whole Pantheon at his fingers' ends. . . ." Symonds, *op. cit.*, 125.

4 Cf. Putnam, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages*, I, 317-47.

5 Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 188.

6 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, II, 21.

of education consists, beyond what we have said above, in his single-hearted and unstinted efforts to supply the world with books and manuscripts, so indispensable in educational endeavors.

It had always been Nicholas' hobby, or, we might better say, passion, to collect books. "When a young man, he spent his money almost entirely on books, and, like a genuine collector, would have them well written and tastefully bound; he did not look to the price, and often gave more for them than he could well afford. . . . He was made keen in the search for new works, ransacking the libraries wherever he went, looking for fresh treasures. Both in Germany and in France he made valuable discoveries, and, from every journey which he took with Cardinal Albergati, brought back literary spoils."[7] He was interested in every form of literature. As Aeneas Sylvius affirms, he was familiar with practically the whole field of human knowledge.[8] A copy of Tertullian's works was discovered by him in Germany and sent with no small degree of pleasure to his friend Niccolo de Niccoli at Florence. Later he found the Sermons of St. Leo the Great, the commentary of St. Thomas on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and works of Iraeneus and Theophilus. He had a special love for St. Augustine, "whose works in twelve costly volumes, adorned his bookshelves, and he was unwearied in his efforts to collect from various manuscripts the letters of the Saint." A brief list of other works ferretted out by him is given by Tiraboschi.[9]

Once elevated to the Papal Chair, Nicholas spared neither labor nor money to obtain all possible books and manuscripts. It was his constant ambition to use the influences that the Holy See enjoyed throughout Christendom "far more for the organization of books than for power." His agents were sent not merely to all cities

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7 Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 22. Cf. Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 502.

8 Cf. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III, 2, 895.

9 Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1, 55, sq.

and towns of Italy, but to every part of the known world. As the Holy Year of 1450 had brought vast wealth into the papal treasury, no expenses were spared. Alberto Enoche of Ascoli, for example, was sent to Denmark and Norway where it was rumored, a very perfect copy of Livy existed. To obtain this copy Nicholas sent a special letter of introduction to the Grandmaster Ludwig von Erlichshausen, stating: "*Nolumus enim ut aliquis liber surripiatur, sed tantum modo ut fiat copia transcribendi.*" [10] The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the destruction of the famous library brought many Greek scholars to Rome and made a large number of Greek manuscripts available to the agents of Nicholas. His interest appears no more evident, than, when on the point of sending a crusade against the Turks, he secretly sends agents to Constantinople to rescue from possible loss and destruction all the manuscripts they could find.[11] Symonds, speaking of this stage of the Renaissance says: "Never was there a time in the world's history when money was spent more freely upon the collection and preservation of MSS., and when a more complete machinery was put in motion for the sake of securing literary treasures." [12]

A new interest in the Manuscript trade resulted which made itself noticed in all parts of Europe. The largest and best qualified dealer was the Florentine, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the old-time friend of Nicholas. "His purchasing agents and correspondents were armed with instructions to secure authenticated codices wherever these were obtainable, and the monasteries not only of Italy, but of Switzerland, South Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, and the East were carefully searched for possible literary treasures." [13] Many of the books and manu-

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[10] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 209.
[11] Cambridge, *Modern History*, I, 77, 594.
[12] Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 139.
[13] Putnam, *op. cit.*, I, 341.

scripts which Nicholas desired were obtained through this dealer and also through Perotti.

In the Vatican itself were employed a large number of copyists, who literally worked day and night recopying and multiplying books and manuscripts. There were so many, in fact, that Poggio sneeringly thought them sufficiently numerous to make a good stand against the Turks.[14] This fact is quite significant. A few years previous reliable copyists had been exceedingly rare.[15]

The copyists were divided into two distinct classes. The Scrittori, who were familiar with the Greek language and could be relied upon for the multiplication and critical study of Greek manuscripts and literature. Evidently their number was quite limited. The simple Copisti were versed only in Latin and Italian. Many of them were, as a matter of fact, engaged in some other profession, and copied manuscripts only as an accessory business to swell their income.[16] Unfortunately, the work done by these copyists was frequently very unsatisfactory. Even during the fifteenth century it could be said of them "that in accuracy of work they never attained the conscientious precision of the old monks. They seem to have done their work in a sulky and perfunctory fashion, seldom putting their signatures at the foot of the codices, and showed no traces of that cheerful humor, or of the proud consciousness of a beneficent activity, which often surprises us in the French and German manuscripts of the same period."[17] It is not unlikely, therefore, that Nicholas had special reasons in calling to the Vatican a large number of German and French Scribes. Aside from the scarcity of copyists at Rome the impression prevails that the art of transcribing had attained a higher level of perfection in these countries than in Italy itself.[18]

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14 Poggio, Ep. XIII, 8.
15 Cf. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung d. classischen Alterthums*, II, 206.
16 Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 192.
17 Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 193.
18 Putnam, *op. cit.*, I, 293.

Nicholas was most careful to have the work of transcribing done accurately and beautifully. *"Libros nitidos et vestes ornatas amavit."* He was specially gifted with a sense of the beautiful, and had always been famous as an expert calligrapher. Intolerant of any careless work, he made it his practice to visit the "manuscript factory" most frequently, and even supervised the more important tasks. No small credit is due him, therefore, for the type of books with which he adorned the Vatican Library. "The handwriting was that beautiful, modern Italian, which was already in use in the preceding century, and which makes the sight of one of the books of that time a pleasure." [19]

In this manner Nicholas succeeded in collecting a surprisingly large number of books for the Vaticana. He may properly be called the founder of the Vatican Library and the first Papal Bibliophile. True, a collection of books had been associated with the Papal Curia from time immemorial. Generally speaking, however, these collections were private property and so with the death of the respective Pontiff, passed on to the heirs.[20] With the change of Papal residence to Avignon, many books were lost or destroyed, so that at the time of Eugene IV only a small number remained, and according to Traversari, not one of the volumes was a precious one.[21]

Nicholas kept the books that he had collected in two different rooms. The one, his private chamber, contained the works that he prized especially high, either because of their costly bindings and beautiful workmanship, or because of their rarity. Some, too, were placed in this *"allerheiligste Studio"* for sentimental reasons. Most of the books were classics. An inventory, said to have been taken at the time of his demise, records the

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19 Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 193; Cf. Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV*e siecle, 44.

20 Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 205.

21 Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 331.

following: Homer, Thucydides, Appian, Xenophon, Dionysius, Diodorus, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Horace, Virgil, Terence, Ovid, Juvenal, Pliny, Seneca, Quintilian, Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Apulejus, Justin, Florus, Claudian, Ptolemaeus and Columella, besides two Christian writers, Lactantius and Eusebius—a rare collection of fifty-six volumes.

It may seem strange to the reader to find so few works of the Fathers represented in this special collection. Was it that Nicholas found more pleasure in the pagan classics than in the Christian masterpieces? That he had a special love for the ancients cannot be denied. But there is hope of another explanation. Beyond what we have stated above, namely, that these books were rare, beautifully bound and had sentimental values, it should be borne in mind that many of them were exceedingly precious. Fabulous sums were paid for correct and well-executed copies of the classics. Many of the humanists, however, and even those in the papal employ, were not too subtle nor too scrupulous in their distinctions between the "*proprium*" and the "*alienum.*" To remove all danger of temptation, Nicholas cautiously had these more precious treasures removed to his bedroom.

The less valuable manuscripts were kept in a room which formed the humble beginnings of the grand Vatican Library of our time. Nothing occupied the attention of Nicholas so much during the last years of his brief reign as the idea of founding a magnificent library "*pro communi doctorum virorum comodo.*" In this library he desired to store the immortal remains of the Greek and Roman mind, under the direct protection of the Holy See, where they might be cared for and guarded against destruction and theft, for the joy and consolation of coming generations. "The idea of this library, by means of which Nicholas hoped to make Rome the centre of learning for all the ages to come was perhaps the grandest thought of this great Pope, who was as admir-

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

able for his genuine piety and virtue as for his many-sided culture."[22]

His untimely death prevented the plan from being realized—a misfortune the world may never learn to know.[23] His single-hearted ambition can well be interpreted from the fact that within a few years he had spent as much as 40,000 scudi for books alone. He considered this the noblest of his achievements. "It was his greatest joy to walk about his library arranging the books and glancing through their pages, admiring the handsome bindings, and taking pleasure to contemplate his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain towards their benefactor."[24]

The number of books that Nicholas actually collected cannot be satisfactorily determined. The data remaining to us are very uncertain. Tortello, who was appointed by the Pope to the office of librarian, records as many as 9,000 volumes. Pius II, however, speaks of only 3000, and St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, allows only 1000. Voigt, relying upon the report of Manetti and Vespasiano, thinks that about 5000 volumes must have been in the library at the time of Nicholas' death.[25] Pastor, writing more recently, thinks this estimate still too generous.[26]

Compared, however, with other libraries of this time, the collection of Nicholas was unique in every respect. "The most famous libraries were hardly more numerous. That of Niccoli, the largest in Florence, only contained eight hundred volumes (valued at four thousand sequins). That of Visconti, in his castle at Pavia, nine hundred and eighty-eight. Cardinal Bessarion, in spite

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22 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, II, 208.
23 Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 331.
24 Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 208, translated in Pastor, II, 213.
25 Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 213; Manetti, in *Muratorius, op. cit.*, III, 2, 926.
26 Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 213.

of his influential connections and lavish expenditures could only succed in bringing six hundred manuscripts together, etc.'' [27]

The zeal of Pope Nicholas V did not stop with the establishment of the Vaticana, but reached out also to the Universities and other institutions of learning. In his endeavor to promote universal knowledge and to enhance the Eternal City, he realized the absolute need of a large University at Rome, that should offer instruction in every branch, and be open to students from every land. Without such a University all his endeavors to educate the Christian world, and especially the Italian people, to the love of study would have been shortlived. He therefore confirmed at once all the privileges and exemptions contemplated by Boniface VIII in favor of the University. He approved the *studium generale* and added some new favors of his own. The curriculum itself, as also the methods of instruction underwent definite changes. What these changes were cannot at this late date be accurately determined. However they are said to have affected especially the departments of Latin and Greek eloquence, and the school of Philosophy. Both of these acquired additional lustre, owing to the many translations that went out from them.[28]

The administration of the University experienced no notable changes. Nicholas, on the other hand, made provisions for additional revenue. He set aside certain public funds to meet the upkeep of the buildings and property. The tax on the wine was increased to meet the salary of the professors. The money received by the Vatican Basilica from the monastery and church of St. Blase was set aside for the support of special scholars,

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27 Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 213; Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 502.

28 Renazzi, *Storia dell Universita di Roma*, I, 159.

who desired to continue their studies in certain public universities.[29]

Finally the Pope invited to Rome many illustrious professors, to whom he showed the same munificence that the prominent humanists and secretaries experienced from him. In this way he sought not merely to bring prominent pedagogues to Rome, but also to encourage the teachers in their profession and incite them to the noblest efforts.[30]

The academies of learning outside of Rome shared likewise, though in a modified way, in the Pope's ardor.

On March 22, 1447, he confirmed the Bull of Eugene IV regarding the favours extended to the college at Foix, founded by the Cardinal Foix.[31] In the Fall of the same year, October 20, he exempted the members of the University of Avignon from the payment of taxes, in order to encourage both the professors and the students.[32] The University of Perpignan, in virtue of the Bull of July 21, 1447, established a faculty of Theology.[33] Even during the Holy Year of 1450 the active Pontiff found time to issue a Bull approving the founding of the University of Besancon.[34]

The University of Barcelona shared in the Pontiff's solicitude to the extent that all the privileges, rights and exemptions enjoyed by Toulouse were granted to it, together with the power of conferring degrees.[35] Sim-

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29 Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 160.

30 Renazzi, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

31 Cf. Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privileges des Univ. Francaises*, no. 836.

32 Fournier, *op. cit.*, no. 1340.

33 Fournier, *op. cit.*, nos. 1513, 1337, 1339, 1671, 1675, etc.

34 A short quotation from this document, reflecting the mind of the Pope may be of interest to the reader: "*Inter ceteras fecilitates quas mortalis homo in hac labili vita ex dono Dei nancisci potest, ea in ultimis computari meretur, quod per assiduum studium acquirere potest scientie margaritam, que bene beateque vivendi viam prebet, ac peritum ab imperito sua pretiositate longe facit excellere et similem Deo reddit, suffragatur indoctos, et ex infimo loco natos vehit in sublimes. . . .*" Fournier, *op. cit.*, No. 1626.

35 Bull of Sept. 30, 1450, La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana*, I, 336.

ilar favors were extended to the University of Prague[36] and Vienna.[37]

A final word as to the possible motive underlying the extraordinary zeal of Pope Nicholas V will not be out of place.

It has been thought indeed that Nicholas in all his vast achievements sought principally his own glorification. Those that have devoted themselves to an interpretation of the spirit of the era, will need no further reminder to realize that self-glorification and vanity were by no means the least of the ideals of the humanists. Never, perhaps, has the world experienced such a love and insatiable thirst for fame and greatness as marked the age of Nicholas V. Fame was the "*Summum Bonum*" to be achieved, irrespective of means or consequences. But in the case of Nicholas, we have reason to believe that his motives were higher and nobler. A Pontiff so indifferent to ostentation and ceremony, so easy of approach and so mindful of the poor and lowly would never have been satisfied with the empty praises and foolish admiration of his contemporaries. From his dying lips we have the touching declaration of the ideals that animated his vast accomplishments. Having assembled the college of Cardinals around his bed, recounting to them the achievements of his pontificate, and thanking God for the many blessings he had received he continues: "I have so reformed and so confirmed the Holy Roman Church, which I found devastated by war and oppressed by debts, that I have eradicated schism and won back her cities and castles. I have not only freed her from her debts, but erected magnificent fortresses for her defense, as, for instance, at Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Civita Castellana, at Narni, Orieto, Spoleto and Viterbo; I have adorned her with glorious buildings

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36 *Statuta Universtatis Pragensis*, 70, by *Antonius Dittrich et Antonius Spirk*, Pragae, 1845.

37 Cf. Bull of March 28, 1452, apud Kink, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Universitaet Wien*, II, 295 sqq.

and decked her with pearls and precious stones. I have provided her with costly books and tapestry, with gold and silver vessels, and splendid vestments. And I did not collect all these treasures by grasping avarice and simony. In all things I was liberal, in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Latin and Greek manuscripts, and in the remuneration of learned men. All this has been bestowed upon me by the Divine grace, owing to the continued peace of the Church during my Pontificate."[38]

His eyes fixed on the crucifix, beseeching God to grant him patience and pardon of his sins, "he gave back his noble soul to Him, whose place he had filled on earth."

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[38] Manetti, *Vita Nicolai V.*, Muratorius, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 955, translated in Pastor, II, 311, sqq.

CHAPTER V

Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458)

The close of the reign of Nicholas V found the literary Revival strongly entrenched in the very Capital of the Christian world. The new Movement for learning had met with every sign of encouragement and support from the Pontiff, and knowledge had proven power. Many of the Cardinals of the Sacred College had admired the splendor of the Court of Nicholas and his success in the restoration of Papal power and dignity. In the election of a successor the keenest competition naturally broke out. The aged Cardinal Capranica possessed many of the qualities of Nicholas, and had been thoroughly sympathetic to the endeavors of the Pontiff. His elevation would have promised well for the continuation of the policy of the preceding reign. Yet Capranica was a Roman and for this reason not acceptable to the French cardinals. Orsini, a man of great learning and power was favored by the French element and if elected would likely have continued where Nicholas left off. But Orsini was a *persona non grata* to the Colonna factions. Nor was the Greek Cardinal Bessarion acceptable to all because of his former adhesions. After much delay and agitation and as it were "to postpone the contest, the aged Spanish Cardinal Alonso de Borja was elected, taking the title of Calixtus III.

De Borja was a man of great talent and advanced learning. For a number of years he had attended the University of Lerida and obtained a degree of "*Doctor utriusque juris.*"[1] Later he taught both Civil and Canon Law in this same institution. In the Sacred Col-

1 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 383.

lege he had the reputation of being the most subtle canonist of his day.[2] But the Pope, though learned in the Sacred Sciences, was not a humanist, nor a lover of the classics, or profane subjects.[3] His election proved therefore a sad disappointment to the devotees of the Revival. Calumnies of every sort were quickly invented and the cause of learning was pronounced lost at the Papal court.[4]

In our day, however, too much credence must not be placed in the complaints of the humanists of the time. It is only too well known how much they were given to exaggeration and how jealous they were of their own interests. Their whinings contained other elements of a more personal nature than interest in the advancement of the sciences and arts. The fact remains that Calixtus, while not versed in the classics nor attached to them, was nevertheless not hostile to the new Learning, but merely indifferent.[5] He actually loved scholarship. Aeneas Sylvius reports that he delighted to converse about legal matters and that he remembered the Canons with surprising accuracy.[6] Furthermore, it must be borne in mind, that the Pontiff was already in his seventy-seventh year. In these declining years of his life he was called upon to make provision against the Turks and organize a mighty Crusade to ward off the approaching armies. The anxiety and hardships connected with the adventure evidently allowed but little time for those things that had so much engaged the attention of his predecessors. And, finally, the money collected during the Holy Year had already been spent, leaving the papal treasury unprepared for the heavy demands of a Crusade.

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2 Artaud de Montor, *Lives and Times of the Popes,* IV, 151.

3 The Pope is said to have read much, and to have dictated his correspondence. Cf. Platina, *op. cit.,* I, 388; Aeneas Sylvius, *Europa,* c. 58.

4 Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Deutschland u. Italien,* 139.

5 Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* II, 333.

6 Aeneas Sylvius, *Europa,* c. 58, apud Pastor, *op. cit.,* II, 332.

How selfish many of the humanists were appears from the fact that at this very time they fairly stormed the aged Pope for pensions and revenues, and invented foul calumnies against him when their petitions were denied.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising to observe that no new humanists or scholars "*qua tales*" were admitted by Calixtus to the Papal service.[7] It is asserted that the Pope even dismissed many who had been engaged by Nicholas.[8] The Papal secretaries, as we have noted before, were appointed permanently, and hence most of the brilliant scholars retained their positions in the Curia, despite the fact that Calixtus, in order to save expenses, and make room for "his own" might have been glad to dispense with them.[9] To what extent these devoted themselves to literary and scholarly pursuits cannot be accurately determined. The dedication of new works to the Pontiff, indicative of his patronage, are, however, few.[10] Nor have we much evidence on the fate of the college of Scribes engaged under the preceding Pontiff.

It remains a consoling feature of the administration of Calixtus III that the humanists and scholars were no longer accorded the same prominence and ecclesiastical precedence that Nicholas V and Eugene IV had vouchsafed to them. His successors would have done well in imitating him in this.

The relations of Calixtus to the Vatican Library has been made the matter of much dispute. Until quite recently historians, in forming their judgment, relied, it is believed, too much upon the ungracious charges brought against the Pontiff by Filelfo[11] and by the other-

7 Calixtus received Valla and made him a secretary. The reason of the friendly relation is not known.

8 Cf. Voigt, *Aenea Silvio de Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite, u. sein Zeitalter*, III, 608.

9 Calixtus cannot be said to have been free from nepotism. Cf. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, II, 349.

10 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e siecle*, 115.

11 Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.*, 116, note 1.

wise congenial Vespasiano. The latter's remarks are as follows: "When Pope Calixtus began his reign, and beheld so many excellent books, five hundred of them resplendent in bindings of crimson velvet with clasps of silver, he wondered greatly, for the old canonist was used only to books written on linen and stitched together. Instead of commending the wisdom of his predecessor, he cried out as he entered the Library: "See, now, where the treasure of God's Church has gone." Then he began to disperse the Greek books. He gave several hundred to the Ruthenian Cardinal, Isidore. As this latter had become half childish from age the volumes fell into the hands of the servants. That which had cost gold florins was sold for a few pence. Many Latin books came to Barcelona, some by means of the Bishop of Vich, the powerful Datary of the Pope, and some as presents to Catalan nobles."[12]

In recent times critical historians have been led to question seriously the veracity of this statement of the Florentine historian. Voigt, for example, though giving apparent credence to the statement in his text, adds as a footnote, that the dispersion has likely been much exaggerated.[13] Reumont considers the attack a gross exaggeration and wholly unwarranted.[14]

The fact that Platina, writing at the request of Sixtus IV the *"Lives of the Popes,"* found these books present in the Library proves that the scattering had not yet taken place at that time. It is furthermore known that the Pope instructed the learned Cosimo de Monserrato to take an accurate inventory of the books present in the Library,[15] thereby showing that he was interested

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[12] *Vespasiano da Bisticci,* apud Pastor, *op. cit.,* II, 334.

[13] Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums,* II, 209.

[14] Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* III, 1, 333.

[15] Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.,* 117. Pastor, *op. cit.,* II, 335. "A copy of the catalogue exists in the Library of the Cathedral of Vich, and must evidently have been brought to Vich by Cosimo de Monserrato, who was Bishop of that Diocese from 1460-1473. This circumstance may perhaps have given rise to the report that Calixtus had sent books to Vich." Pastor, II, 335, n. 1.

in the collection and valued it highly. "In this most ancient inventory of the Vatican Library we find a number of marginal notes, by means of which the humanistic statements regarding the dispersion of the manuscripts may be reduced to their proper dimensions. Here it appears that Calixtus certainly gave away some manuscripts, five volumes in all, and these of no great value. Two went to the King of Naples. The fact that the catalogue was undertaken on the 16th of April, 1455, does not exclude the possibility of subsequent presents having been made by the Pope, but even if this were the case the number of manuscripts so disposed of must have been very small. If he bestowed only two on King Alfonso, his intimate friend, we may rest assured that he cannot have given hundreds to Cardinal Isidore or to the Catalan nobles."[16]

Muentz, calling attention to the profound knowledge of Calixtus, in the Sacred Science, his love for the study of law and his legal library adds, *apropos,* that it is hard to conceive that a man so learned should show such contempt for other subjects.[17]

That Calixtus gave away some of the books from the Vaticana is generally admitted, but as Muentz again asserts, these allocations of the Latin books were small and insignificant.[18] In the distribution of the Greek works, Calixtus may have been less reserved, but for some of them he received a just compensation, others again were only loaned; a fact which Vespasino likely never took into account.[19] Should it finally be true that Calixtus, in his zeal to raise funds for the Crusade, robbed some of the books of their precious ornaments of gold and silver, it might be argued that even this did not

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16 Pastor, *op. cit.,* II, 336.
17 Muentz, *op. cit.,* 118.
18 Muentz, *op. cit.,* 118.
19 Muentz, *op. cit.,* 118.

and could not constitute an irreparable injury to learning.

Regarding the institutions of learning, Calixtus during his brief reign gave no evidence of great zeal in their behalf. The Roman University continued its activities without Papal intervention. It seems that at this time the Senate assumed charge of the establishment, hired new professors and the like.[20] Calixtus issued, however, a Bull on May 29, 1456, approving the founding of the University of Greifswald.[21] He confirmed the privileges of the University of Caen,[22] the College of Foix,[23] and the School of Fermo.[24]

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20 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma,* I, 192.

21 Vischer, *Geschichte der Universitaet Basel,* 26.

22 Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privileges des Univ. Francaises,* no. 1679.

23 Fournier, *op. cit.,* no. 836.

24 Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitaeten des Mittelalters bis* 1400, 633.

CHAPTER VI

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini

The reign of the next Pope and his attitude to the subject of our study cannot be well understood without a brief review of his earlier life and activities.

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, upon his election, assumed the name of Pius II, was born in the little town of Corsignano, in 1405. Owing to the poverty of his parents, he received but a superficial primary education. When a young man of eighteen his father sent him to the University of Sienna to take up the study of law under the widely known jurist, Mariano Sozzini. At this time the enthusiasm for the new Learning had only in a mild way stirred this peaceful city. The study of Greek was practically unknown, and Latin instructions were given by masters to whom the new endeavors were still unfamiliar. Notwithstanding these adverse conditions, Aeneas developed a love for the classics and with the co-operation of his companions achieved a remarkable success in letters. He gradually eschewed law and would ponder day and night over the ancient authors. Cicero, Horace, Virgil and Ovid delighted him more than the Corpus Juris. And when poverty prohibited the possession of his own books, he would borrow manuscripts and diligently make copies of them. From Sienna the young humanist went to Florence to study Greek under the famous Filelfo. The time spent here was significant rather on account of the happy acquaintances that he made with reputed scholars than for the success that accompanied his perusal of Hellenic literature.

After the two years of sojourn at Florence, Aeneas entered upon public life, "holding a typical humanistic position, that of secretary to Cardinal Capranica at the

Council of Basel." Thereafter he was secretary consecutively to the Bishops of Freising and Novera, and Cardinal Albergati, who was the Legate of Eugene IV at the Council. These various posts afforded Sylvius an opportunity of much travel, since he was sent on repeated diplomatic missions to the different countries of Europe.

Aeneas, at this time, was a staunch supporter of the anti-pope Felix V, who also gratefully acknowledged his service, made him a notary and eventually raised him to the position of a Papal Secretary. It was a most fortunate distinction for the young man, and ultimately led to the triumph of his literary career. For as papal secretary, Piccolomini was chosen to present to Emperor Frederick III for judgment, the dispute between the two Popes. "The Emperor took the occasion of Aeneas' presence to do public honor to his learning, literary power and distinguished reputation. In the presence of the Court, and with all the solemnity of the old Roman emperors, he crowned Aeneas Poet Laureate."[1]

A friendship arose between Frederick and the elated poet. Ere long Aeneas resigned his secretaryship to Felix V, for that of the Emperor. He likewise abandoned the cause of the anti-pope and for three years, like Frederick himself, maintained an attitude of neutrality. Gradually, however, he grew more and more conscious of his mistake at Basel, and in 1445, while on a diplomatic mission to Rome, humbly petitioned Eugene's pardon. "The Pope, convinced of his allegiance, not only pardoned him, but entrusted to his care the affairs of the Holy See at the Imperial Court."[2] The following year, Aeneas embraced the clerical state. He was ordained priest, and raised by Nicholas V to the episcopal see of Triest. In 1450 he was transferred to Sienna and made

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[1] McCormick, Patrick J., *Aeneas Sylvius, Renaissance Pope and Educator*, Catholic Educational Review, XI, 123.

[2] McCormick, Patrick J., *Aeneas Sylvius, Renaissance Pope and Educator*, Catholic Educational Review, XI, 124.

Cardinal through the request of Frederick III. His election to the Papacy took place only eight years later.

In the diverse offices that Aeneas Sylvius held, he always found time for literary efforts. While still a student at Sienna, he composed many letters, poems and orations.[3] But it was not until his appearance at Basel that his abilities as a poet, writer and orator gained any wide recognition.

It is said of him that altogether he composed no less than three thousand sonnets and poems.[4] Today practically all of these have been either destroyed or lost.[5] A large work of an amatory nature was written during the leisure hours at Basel. He called it "*Nymphelixis.*" Of it nothing remains except the dedication to Mariano de Sozzini.[6] In the "*Opera Inedita,*" by Gugnoni, we find several short epigrams, epithets, eclogues, etc.[7] The recently discovered Comedy, "*Chrisis,*" is perhaps the one and only good example of the earlier productions of Aeneas. A few hymns that he composed after his election are, however, preserved today.

Aeneas, though he gloried in the title conferred upon him by Frederick, cannot be classed with the prominent poets of his day. He possessed, indeed, a poetic temperament, which is reflected in his orations and prose work, but a genuine poet he was not. His poetry lacks the spontaneity of the master. "The lines do not come singing into his brain. He merely turned eloquent prose into passable verse."[8]

More success attended the oratorical efforts of Piccolomini. The intense study of the classic models, rein-

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3 Cf. Ady, Pius II, 280, sqq.

4 Some think this a wild exaggeration, preferring the opinion that he wrote 3000 lines instead of poems.

5 It is the opinion that Aeneas himself destroyed many of the poems. *Cf. Bibliothek der Katholischen Paedagogik,* II, 234.

6 Cf. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* III, 2, 986.

7 Cf. *Bibliothek der Katholischen Paedagogik,* II, 235.

8 Boulting, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman, Pope,* 96.

forced by his wide experiences, furnished him with a vocabulary, a technique and a fund of information that few orators of his day possessed. His speeches were full of animation, "and were delivered by an accomplished orator of engaging personality and clear, resonant voice, always kept to the point, yet invested his argument with scholarly dignity and relieved it with literary reminiscences, whose periods had the grace and lightness of a bird's flight, yet who could drive an argument home with the precision of a skilled marksman speeding his arrow."[9] He was therefore classed with the brilliant Manetti. In the many and diverse capacities in which he served the Church and the State, he had naturally many occasions to make use of his rare ability. Campano asserts that he ascended the speaker's rostrum more than any orator of his time.[10] Conscious of his talents, Aeneas did not deem it improper to record his theories on oratory in the "*Artis Rhetoricae Praecepta.*"

The first public appearance of Sylvius, deserving of mention, was at the Council of Basel, when he pleaded with the assembled dignitaries for the transfer of the Meeting to Pavia.[11] He delivered a masterly appeal, on which he had spent several days of preparation, and won for himself immediate fame. Many of the orations, like his poems, are now lost. A collection made by him after his coronation contains a total of fifty-four. Of these twenty were delivered before his elevation, and the other thirty-four while he was Pope.

But of Aeneas, as of so many of the Renaissance orators, it must be said that, despite his talents, he was not a success. He pleased his audience, he stirred up their emotion, but he did not lead them to action.[12]

The worthiest contributions made by Aeneas Sylvius

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[9] Boulting, *op. cit.*, 79.

[10] Cf. Muratorius, *op. cit., loc. cit.* Boulting, *op. cit.*, 79.

[11] Cf. Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 389.

[12] "*Man lernte bald seine Rede bewundern und blieb doch unempfindlich gegen ihren Inhalt.*" Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 275.

to the cause of learning are undoubtedly his prose works. He was an excellent geographer and historian. His many travels to England, Scotland and the northern nations of continental Europe offered him a rare opportunity of studying countries and peoples. The *"Cacoethes Scribendi"* being ever upon him, he took copious notes of all he saw and heard. Minutely he describes the lay of the country, the mountains, and valleys, the lakes and rivers, the cities, the people with their customs and habits, etc. His ever ready mind and thirst for knowledge made him a keen observer, and an accurate recorder.

Unlike the humanists of this century, Aeneas interested himself not merely in Ancient History, but concentrated more upon the current affairs, "in the hope of performing for his own age, the service which classical writers had rendered to the past."[13] He knew the fifteenth century better than any of the living scholars. "He almost alone among his contemporaries rose superior to the classical prejudices of the day, and thought it worth while to wade through uncouth masses of medieval material, in order to learn something of the nations of Europe in their infancy."

While the Council of Basel was yet in session he wrote extensive commentaries upon it and sent them to his friends across the Alps, in order that the world might know "how in our days the schism was born and nourished, grew and expired."[14] He is the great historian of the famous Council. In the court of Frederick his pen was ever busy recording interesting observations.[15] His trip to Bohemia was followed by a description and history of that country.[16] Later he attempted a history of Europe, and as Cardinal wrote the famous Asia, which

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13 Ady, *op. cit.*, 289.

14 Ady, *op. cit.*, 291.

15 He wrote the *"Historia Friderici III,"* which gives the impressions gained during his long stay in Germany.

16 *Historia Bohemica.*

is a work of great educational value, and is said to have been used by Columbus in his studies of geography and history. Nor did the duties of the Pontificate rob him of his devotion to these subjects. During the silent hours of the night it was his wont to write or dictate the Commentaries of the fifteenth century, up to the time of his last illness.[17] These commentaries are the only autobiographical notes of any Pope that we have. Being the observations of a scholar and humanist, they are of the greatest significance for the student of the *quattrocento* history. "There is hardly a great man of the day, who does not figure in their pages, and every phase of European politics is touched upon, and every important town of Italy is described.[18]

Abstracting from the intrinsic value of the Geographical-Historical works of Aeneas, special credit is due him for having created a new interest in these departments of knowledge. His example found many imitators.[19]

To the prose compositions of Sylvius belong also a large number of letters and tracts addressed to his friends.

As a letter-writer Aeneas holds a unique position.[20] Both the style and content of his letters differ remarkably from the epistles of his age. His early productions, before the more serious affairs of life weighed upon him, resembled, of course, the compositions of so many of his companions and youths of the times. The intense interest with which he devoured the pagan classics and especially the amatory poets, accounts likely for the buoyant irregularities that he at times allows, and for which, in his riper age, he experienced much regret. The letters of his

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17 Cf. Platina, *op. cit.*, I, 397.

18 Ady, *op. cit.*, 297.

19 Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, III, 421, sq.

20 "The object of letter-writing was seldom what it is nowadays, to give information as to the circumstances of the writer, or news of other people; it was rather treated as a literary work done to give evidence of scholarship, and to win the consideration of those to whom it was addressed." Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 232.

later years give evidence, however, of his complete change of mind, and generally do credit to his exalted position.

The tracts of Aeneas are likewise rich in number. The first tracts which he wrote concern themselves chiefly with the great and agitated questions of Church government and reform. Sylvius was a champion of the *"Council Theory"* so forcefully outlined in his *"Dialogue,"* which appeared in 1440, while he was at Basel. A treatise on political science was finished three years later under the title *"De Ortu et Auctoritate Romani Imperii,"* advocating the absolute power of the Roman Emperor and the Pope. The views expressed in it are almost diametrically opposed to those of his former *opus,* for which *"volte face"* he was sharply criticised when he came to Cologne in 1447 as Bishop of Triest. The *"Germania"* is likely the most attractive of his essays. In the Bulls, *"Execrabilis"* and *"Minoribus Agentis"* drawn up in truly humanistic fashion the author renounces the *"Council Theory,"* so warmly advocated in his former tract.

To the Tracts of Piccolomini belong finally two small works dealing directly with education. Both have the form of a Renaissance letter. One is addressed to the young Archduke Sigismund, and the other to the ten-year-old Ladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia. The latter especially[21] conforms to the theories of education so characteristic of the Renaissance period, and happily set down by educators like Vergerio, Bruni, Vegio, Dominici and others. It is unique in this one respect, that it gives us the position of a churchman on the use of the pagan classics by Christian youth. Aeneas forcefully defends the proper use of the ancients, quoting in his support the Fathers of the Church, and especially the arguments advanced by St. Basil.[22] A brief review of

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21 *"De liberorum educatione"* Cf. Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre and* other Humanist Educators, for the English translation of this work.

22 St. Basil's *"Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature."*

the more widely used authors and his criticism of them were to guide the young man in his choice of the classics. His discussion of the use of the classics "alone would have justified the production of the treatise."

As secretary of Frederck, Aeneas attempted also a novel, which he called "*De duobus amantibus,*" generally known now, because of its translations into European tongues, as "*Euryalus and Lucretia.*" Its object was to "invest in literary charm under the guise of the loves of Euryalus and Lucretia, certain passages, between the chancellor and a certain fair wedded lady of Sienna."[23] The efforts were not well received by the chancellor and Aeneas was disappointed in his hopes of a generous acknowledgment. It was one of his last attempts to please royalty with literary tributes.[24]

Notwithstanding the apathy of the northern people toward the Revival that was stirring the soul of Italy, Aeneas continued his efforts to interest influential men in the movement. He spoke to them of the interest which higher society in Italy displayed towards it. He set before them in eloquent terms the generous patronage of scholars and humanists, and the interest in books and manuscripts. Even the German youths he attempted to arouse by writing for them tracts, poems, letters, etc.; yet his appeals were little heeded. It was only at the Imperial Court that Sylvius succeeded in interesting a few of his companions, who eventually took up the Renaissance in the North. Around 1450 Aeneas had the pleasure of seeing some of his works translated into German by Nicolas von Weil. Soon a school was established at Nuremberg under this same Weil, which instructed youth in Latin and Rhetoric. It was the beginning of the Renaissance in Germany, and "to Piccolomini more than to anyone, is due the honour of having carried the torch of Humanism into Germany.[25]

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[23] Boulting, *op. cit.*, 138.
[24] Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 267.
[25] Boulting, *op. cit.*, 215.

CHAPTER VII

Pope Pius II (1458-1464)

To the world of *literati* Cardinal Piccolomini was not so well known. He was not a scholar like Poggio, Valla or Filelfo, whose names were on the lips of every admirer of the new culture. Nor had his residence among the "Barbarians" for some twenty-odd years been propitious to the establishment of literary fame. It is true that some of his letters and tracts and occasional productions had penetrated into the southern peninsula, but they had attracted no extraordinary attention. Nevertheless men had had sufficient indications during the eight years of his Cardinalate to believe him favorably disposed to the outstanding features of Nicholas' reign. Hence it was that great rejoicing followed the announcement of his election. "Rome of the Renaissance was never more exultant than on the day Aeneas Sylvius, Cardinal of Sienna, was elected Pope. The festivities continued into the night, when bonfires were kindled and the city towers illuminated. 'Old people declared that they had never seen such an outburst of rejoicing in Rome.'"[1] Happiest of all were the *literati*, who in one accord with Filelfo addressed the new Pope: "In the eyes of all distinguished and cultured men, you have risen like a sun, dispersing the mists of darkness."[2] All expected another golden era, that would rival or even outclass the period of 1447 to 1455.[3]

Ere long, however, bitter disillusionment set in. Pius II, in spite of his interest in learning and his love for

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1 McCormick, Patrick J., *Aeneas Sylvius, Renaissance Pope and Educator; Catholic Educational Review*, XI, 122.

2 Filelo to Pius, Nov. 1, 1458, cf. Ady, Pius II, 247.

3 Loserth, *Geschichte des Mittelalters von* 1197-1492, 635.

literature, proved surprisingly indifferent to the scholars that again came to Rome in large numbers. They were hopelessly disappointed. A few years earlier it had been an easy matter for anyone, even of inferior accomplishment, to obtain a position in the Papal Curia. Nicholas V had opened wide the doors, even to mediocrity. Pius went to the other extreme. He was conservative and firmly adhered to his maxim: *"Oratores et Poetas aut supremos aut nullo in loco esse oportet."* He was furthermore of a very critical disposition, so that he became at once unpopular with the humanists.[4] Discouraged, many, even reputed savants, left Rome, never to return. "The crowd of copyists, collectors, translators and versifiers did not reappear in Rome. Instead, there was a Pope who composed his own Bulls and who was surrounded by a select company of kindred spirits, friends and companions, rather than court humanists."[5]

Giantonio Porcello, for example, though a former friend of the Pope, and a co-employee in the court of Frederick III, from whom he had also received the Poet's crown, was ungraciously refused a secretaryship for which he petitioned the Pope.[6] From Milan came another former acquaintance and correspondent of Pius, Guiniforte da Barzizza, only to be disappointed in his hopes for a position in the Curia.[7] George Trebizond, who had been expelled from the Curia by Nicholas and exiled from Rome by Calixtus, obtained neither pardon nor sympathy and was forced to eke out a living at Venice.[8] Theodore Gaza, though a priest, met with similar treatment. Nor could Pius be beguiled by flattering dedications, as Gregorio de Tiferno and the near famous woman humanist, Isotta Nogarola, soon experienced.[9] Bright hopes were entertained by the Benedictine Abbot,

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4 Cf. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 72.
5 Ady, *op. cit.*, 248.
6 Porcello was an erotic writer, and likely excluded for this reason. Cf. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini*, III, 613.
7 Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 614.
8 Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 610.
9 Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 610, 615.

Girolamo Agliotti, who, on the plea of former friendship, earnestly prayed for a pontifical appointment, through congratulations, poems and letters. Whereas Pius seems to have been pleased with his efforts, he remained cold to the underlying motives of the good monk. And even the accomplished Filelfo, his former teacher, was dexterously excluded from the Ecclesiastical Curia. Pius seemed, however, to have been mindful of the deference and respect that he owed him, and so provided an annual pension of 200 ducats for Filelfo. Apparently the sum was smaller than the humanist had expected; nor was it paid regularly. Shameless importunities followed in such frequency that the Pope finally turned a deaf ear to all his pleadings. Filelfo resorted to threats in order to intimidate Pius, but the Pope remained firm, and definitely withheld all further favors. This brought down a storm of invectives and calumnies, which continued even after the Pontiff's demise. "When Pius died he composed a poem of jubilation, and did everything he could to cast obloquy on his memory."[10]

Abstracting, however, from the spacious charges of Filelfo and his offended fellow-humanists, the fact remains that Pius did keep "aloof from the main current of the Renaissance." Many of the scholars were deserving, we believe, of more consideration than was shown to them. Under Nicholas they would have fared better and even the aged Calixtus would have sinned less against them. On the other hand, it must not be thought that Pius expelled all the scholars from his court, or ruthlessly shut the portals of the Vatican against budding talents.[11]

The poet Lodrisio Crivelli was called from Milan, for

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10 Boulting, *Aeneas Sylvius, Piccolomini, Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman, Pope*, 283; Cf. Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 512.

11 Cf. Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 398.

example, and made a papal secretary, because Pius greatly admired his pure latinity.[12]

Niccolo Perotti, the grammarian, was appointed apostolic secretary and later made Bishop of Seponto.[13] Leonardo da Bologna, a qualified student of Latin and Greek, was made abbreviator, and remained in service under Paul II. From the reign of Calixtus III remained Gasparo da Verona. Pius gave him a yearly stipend of 100 ducats.[14] The Pope likewise favored the humanist, Giacomo Zeno, for writing the biography of his father, Carlo Zeno.[15]. From Hungary came the poet Joannes Cesinge, who wrote under the pen name of Janus Pannonius, and was deemed the greatest poet of his country.

Though humanists were not so active any more at this time making translations of the Greek authors, we find Pius commissioning Franceso d'Arezzo to convert into Latin the Iliad and Odyssey. This same Francesco translated also the letters of Diogenes and an elegy, for which he was richly rewarded.[16]

Pius brought to the Curia also, a number of his personal friends, who stood rather high in cultured circles. Among them was the Tuscan Jacopo Ammanati, whose literary activities had already attracted the attention of Nicholas V. Ammanati continued the Commentaries of the Pope, and so rendered a definite service to the science of history. Giantonio Campano was one of the most gifted humanists of this period of the Renaissance. Pius made him the Court Poet, and later created him Bishop of Cortona. Campano has left us a biography of Pius II and Paul II, which is rich in historical data.[17] Equally dear to the Pope was the veteran secretary Agapito di Censi de Rustico, who at the time of Pius' election was

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12 Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 615.
13 Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1652.
14 Cf. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III, 2, 1025.
15 Muratorius, *op. cit.*, XIX, 208 sqq.
16 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 38 sq. Regarding Dati, see Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 618, and Pastor, IV, 30.
17 Cf. Ady, *op. cit.*, 252; Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 623.

auditor of the Rota, and later became bishop of Ancona. From Sienna came the Pope's former fellow-students, Agostino de Patrizzi and Francesco de Patrizzi, men of talent and high respectability. The former became an amanuensis of Pius and abbreviator, whereas the latter, an elegant linguist, became Bishop of Gaeta.

For a better understanding of the Court of Pius II, it should be noted finally that a number of the individuals elevated to the Cardinalate at this period, ranked high in academic achievements.

Cardinal Capranica was a brother to the famous Decembrio Capranica, and a man of more than ordinary talent and administrative ability.[18] Cardinal Bernardo Erolo was skilled in both laws, and a professor emeritus. Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerri was likewise a doctor of both laws. And the young Cardinal Francesco de Todeschini-Piccolomini was a brilliant humanist.[19] From Perugia came the Augustinian General Alessandro Oliva, who had held the chair of Philosophy in that famous institution. Nor did the former secretary of Eugene IV, Cardinal Bartolomeo Rovella, stand behind in scholarly distinctions.[20]

In the college of Abbreviators Pius introduced a radical reform. This institution, which originally consisted of twenty-four members,[21] had in his pontificate grown to such proportions that the office proved no longer remunerative enough, and competent men declined to accept it. The recognized elegance of the Papal Documents naturally waned. Pius determined to remedy the situation. Of the large number of Abbreviators he selected seventy, "and formed them into a college of prelates, and decreed that their office should be perpetual, that certain emoluments should be attached to it, and granted

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18 Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 537.

19 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, III, 295. Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 530.

20 Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 537.

21 *Constitution of Martin V*, in *Bullarium Romanum*, IV, 679.

certain privileges to the possessors of the same.''[22] Of these seventy only twelve were to be appointed by the Vice-chancellor.[23] The work, as also the remunerations, were distributed fairly, but not directly by the Vice-chancellor. In 1464, a year after the introduction of the reform, Pius proceeded to dismiss a number of the Abbreviators, including some high officials, on the ground of inefficiency. To their places he appointed men of his own choice.[24] This naturally angered the deposed officers, and provoked rather inelegant reports concerning the Pontiff. ''The value to be attached to the complaints of other humanists, is uncertain. Until the manuscripts bearing on the subject have been thoroughly examined it will not be possible to come to a definite conclusion in regard to the relations of Pius II with the literary men of his day.''[25]

The school of Secretaries, according to the opinion of the Pontiff, was also in need of immediate attention. Here, too, an overcrowded condition obtained. Calixtus had considerably increased the already large number admitted by Nicholas. Pius dismissed the entire college, retaining only Jacopo da Luca, the future Cardinal Ammanati, and his own cousin, Goro di Niccolo de Lolli, both men of the highest type.[26] The vacancies, according to some, he filled with friends and relatives and such as bought the office from him.[27] It was one of the unfortunate weaknesses of the Pope that he was too solicitous about those near and dear to him, although it cannot be laid to his charge that he enriched them at the expense of the Church.[28]

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22 Rock, P. M. J., in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* art. *''Abbreviators.''*

23 The Vice-Chancellor was Cardinal De Borgia, the future Alexander VI. For a better understanding of the situation see Creighton, *History of the Papacy,* IV, 10 (ed. 1897)

24 Cf. Bull of Sixtus, IV, Jan. 11, 1478, in *Bullarium Romanum,* V, 261. Creighton, *op. cit.,* IV, 11 (ed. 1897)

25 Pastor, *History of the Popes,* IV, 38.

26 Muratorius, *op. cit.,* II, 2, 984.

27 Voigt, *op. cit.,* III, 550.

28 Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* VII, 188.

It would seem, therefore, that Pius was not the staunch champion of learning and humanism, nor the devoted friend and patron of scholars that Nicholas V had been. The superior culture and talent of the former makes it seem all the more strange that no more should have been accomplished during his reign for the advancement of the Renaissance. Surely his attitude as Pope cannot be reconciled with the fervor that he displayed at Sienna, Basel or in the court of Frederick. However, we believe that the financial and political conditions which, in a few years had suffered such violent changes, were chiefly responsible for the apparent indifference. Nicholas had at his disposal the vast resources of the Holy Year. The times were tranquil. Pius, on the other hand, realized the dangers of the impending Mohammedan invasion. The one great object in his mind was to organize the Christian world against Islam. On the very day of his election he began his agitation for a gigantic Crusade, and the following day called the Sacred College into session to form definite plans. The organization of this Crusade occupied much of his time and attention. The Papal treasury was at a low ebb. It would, therefore, have been the height of imprudence for Pius to practice the same prodigality upon the men of learning as his predecessor.

Furthermore, it should be noted that at this very time some of the most distinguished leaders of the Revival of Learning died in rapid succession. Lorenza Valla, Bartolomeo Fazio and Maffeo Vegio passed away in 1458, a year after Pius' accession. The year 1459 marked the death of Poggio and Manetti and Aurispa. Flavio Biondo breathed his last in 1463. Few, therefore, of the first generation of humanists remained to grace the Court of this learned Pope.

Another important reason why we believe the Pontiff less enthusiastic than Nicholas, was his positive aversion to the false Renaissance. When we take into account the early life and writings of Aeneas Sylvius, this reason

may seem to lack much probability. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that with the acceptance of the clerical state a complete reform had taken place in the life, habits and ideals of Piccolomini. Even he himself used to glory in the dictum that Aeneas was forgotten and Pius remained. *"Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite."* The false Renaissance, or the heathen tendencies in the Movement for freedom and culture, etc., grew more discernible day by day. "In the time of Nicholas V the genuine and noble Renaissance which had grown up on Christian principles, and, while embracing classical studies with enthusiasm, had made them subordinate and subservient to Christian aims and ideas, still thoroughly held its own against the other tendency. Subsequently a change took place, and the school which inclined to substitute the heathen idea of beauty for the central sun of Christianity, became predominant. In the second generation of humanists the one-sided devotion to classical antiquity, which led to a completely heathen view of life gained considerably in extent and importance."[29] Pius, with his intimate knowledge of humanists and humanism, saw, we believe, the impending evil only too clearly, and for this, as well as for the reasons named above, withheld the unqualified indorsement which the *literati* had expected. Though guilty of nepotism, he looked to the moral qualifications of his employees as much as to their mental accomplishments.[30] The heathen classics, which in his youth he had so unwisely devoured, lost all their charm, and he paid little attention to them. In his private library he had principally Christian authors. In his writings as Pope "he scrupulously avoided everything which could be looked upon as an approach to heathenism. If the ancient gods were mentioned they were spoken of as demons or idols, the ideas and opinions of Roman philosophers were corrected and conformed to Christian

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[29] Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 36.

[30] *Integritatem eorum, qui secum versarentur, exactissime perquisivit, repudiatis quorum fama minus probaretur.* Muratorius, *op cit.*, III, 2, 984.

standards."[31] Though sentences and images from Holy Scripture took the place of quotations from Horace and Virgil in the Pope's discourses, their elegant and flowing style proved to the world that he was both a scholar and a man of modern culture."[32]

Amid the financial embarrassments of his reign, Pius found it impossible to make any noteworthy additions to the Vaticana. He had, however, a private library, to which he devoted considerable attention. It contained valuable works in both Latin and Greek, and serves as a conclusive proof of the Pope's love for literary treasures.[33] He also retained a few copyists and illuminators, to reproduce manuscripts for him. Like Nicholas he was exceedingly insistent upon accuracy and would personally supervise the work.[34]

During this reign began also the decline of the Roman University. Pius not merely failed to encourage the professors, but owing to the expenses of the contemplated war against the Turks, quickly reduced the salaries, so that the scholars refused to continue their lectures, and the institution automatically came to a standstill. This, however, was contrary to the Pope's wishes. To meet the situation, he dismissed a number of the professors and raised the salaries of the others.[35]

Pius' neglect of the Roman University was not inspired by any antagonism or indifference to learning. It was an economic measure as appears from some of his subsequent acts. On April 7, 1459, he issued a Bull, for example, sanctioning the erection of the University of Ingolstadt, with a "*studium generale in qualibet licita*

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31 Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, 39.
32 Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 620, sq. in Pastor, III, 41.
33 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 398.
34 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e siecle*, 121 sqq.
35 Renazzi, *Storia dell Universita degli studi di Roma*, I, 192.

facultate.''[36] He also remained on very friendly terms with the University of Heidelberg of which he had been the chancellor, while holding the position of provost of the Cathedral of Worms.[37] Basel, so memorable to him, owed its University to the Bull of November 12, 1459. Pius also made diligent provisions for the financial needs of the new foundation and conferred upon it and upon its professors and students, extensive privileges.[38] On December 22, 1459, he issued a Bull directing the reformation of the University of Avignon.[39]

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36 Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig—Maximilians Universitaet in Ingolstadt*, 13.

37 Hautz, *Geschichte der Univ. Heidelberg*, I, 308, sq. By the Bull of Jan. 8, 1462, ''*Pastoris Aeterni*,'' Pius nearly reduced the University of Heidelberg to the condition of extreme need, and it was only through the warm appeal of the faculty that the institution was exempt from the measures contemplated by the Bull.. Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 285 sq.

38 Vischer, *Geschichte der Universitaet Basel*, 29, 271-76, where some of the Bulls are quoted.

39 Fournier, *Les statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises*, No. 1362. A brief quotation, taken from a document of April 4, 1460, reflecting the Pope's mind regarding scholastic endeavors, may be of interest to the reader. It is directed to Nantes, authorizing the establishment of the University. ''*Inter felicitates, quas mortalis homo in hac labili vita ex dono Dei nancisci potest, ea non in ultimis computari meretur, quo per assiduum studium adipisci valeat scientiae margaritam quae bene beateque vivendi viam praebet, et peritum ab imperito sua preciositate longe facit excellere, et ad mundi arcana cognoscenda dilucide inducit, suffragatur indoctis, et in infimo loco natos inducit in sublime, etc. . . .*'' Cf. *Bullarium Romanum*, V, 153. This Bull caused considerable friction between the Pope and the University of Paris, since it granted to the new University all the privileges, rights and exemptions that Paris, Avignon and Bologna enjoyed. Some other Universities, like Anjou, had grievances against the Pope, when he consented, at least tacitly, to a tax placed upon the wine consumed by them. Cf. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*, III, 201, sq.

CHAPTER VIII

Pope Paul II (1464-1471)

Although Pius II ranks as one of the most learned of the medieval Popes, we have noticed that he promoted the fifteenth century Revival of Learning with an air of conservatism. He frequently showed an indifference that has led many to regard him as inimical to higher culture. However, Pius had at heart Christian ideals and standards of living. It seems to have been his aim by personal example, by the reorganization of the curia and by the maintenance of a certain spirit of aloofness to direct the movement back into proper channels. His efforts, unfortunately, remained without much practical fruit. The pagan element of the Revival gained steadily until a positive and overt conflict between the defendants of Christian principles and the advocates of pagan irregularities was inevitable. This conflict arose during the succeeding pontificate.

Cardinal Pietro Barbo, the successor of Pius II, under the title of Paul II, was neither a humanist nor a devotee of learning and scholarly accomplishments. As a youth his ambition had been to be a tradesman. Due, however, to the election of his uncle, Eugene IV, he remained in Venice to give himself over to a life of study.[1] It seems rather certain, however, that he was ill-fitted for scholarship. He possessed little talent and slow progress accompanied his efforts, so that Volaterranus describes him as "*nec literatura neque moribus probatus.*"[2] He was learned neither in Greek, nor could

1 Owing to the confirmed nepotism of the Papacy of this period, Barbo had every reason to entertain hopes of a bright career through the support of his uncle.

2 Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* VII, 569. See also Platina, *Lives of the Popes,* 401 sqq., on the education of the Pope.

he speak Latin fluently. In the consistorial and other convocations he confined himself to the vernacular.[3]

The first clash between the Pope and the humanists occurred when Paul suppressed the college of Abbreviators and abolished the office altogether.[4] Those who had obtained their positions through the friendship of Pius II had, of course, little ground for complaint. After all, Pius, too, had dismissed a number of Abbreviators, in order to make room for his friends. Others, however, who had bought their office grew exceedingly indignant at the Pope. They could not be appeased even when Paul returned to them the price of purchase. Efforts were made to stir up the literary world against the actions of the Pope, and the ejected officials demanded an audience, in which they might be able to voice their complaints. For twenty consecutive nights,[5] they stood at the doors of the Papal residence, awaiting a favorable opportunity to see him. Their vigils were in vain. Driven to desperation, they addressed a written communication to the Pontiff, threatening an appeal to Kings and Princes for a council, in which the Pope might be forced to appear and render an account. The historian Platina was the author of the document. The supreme insolence of the *literati* appears from a short excerpt of this letter: "If you had power to strip us of all we had just and lawful right to, then it ought to be in our power to complain of the injury and disgrace that you have done us. And, therefore, seeing we are rejected by you with so much ignominy, we will appeal to all the Kings and Princes far and near, and desire

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[3] "*Paulus ne videretur tumidus in recitando personaliter oravit licet tamen plerumque defecerit; quinimo ipse in consistoriis secretis et congregationibus et aliis similibus actibus non nisi vulgari sermone loquebatur.*" *Paris de Grassis, apud* Creighton, *History of the Papacy,* IV, 57 (ed. 1897).

[4] Paul was not pleased with the Abbreviators whom he found there. They were friends of Pius rather than efficient workers, and in the mind of Paul were the source of much corruption. Cf. Bull of Sixtus IV, Jan. 11, 1478, in *Bullarium Romanum,* V, 251 sqq. Creighton, *op. cit.,* IV, 11 (ed. 1897).

[5] Paul granted audiences only at night. Cf. Platina, *Lives of the Popes,* I, 416.

them to convene a Council, where you may be forced to shew thy reason, why thou robbest us of our Livelihoods."[6]

The message seriously disturbed the equanimity of the Pontiff. Platina was immediately summoned before him, "where he conducted himself with an air of defiance." But Paul remained unshaken in his purpose. Platina was cast into the prison of S. Angelo and subjected to a trial by torture. He barely escaped the death penalty for his "great crime." After the lapse of a few months, through the unmitigated pleadings of Cardinal Gonzaga, whose secretary Platina had once upon a time been, the bold humanist was released, but forbidden to leave the city of Rome. Neither he, nor any of the ejected Abbreviators, were ever readmitted to their office during the reign of Paul II.

However, the offended *literati* were neither reconciled nor intimidated. Their bitterness towards the Pope waxed stronger day by day, and means were devised whereby they might avenge the wrongs of which they thought themselves the victims.

Regular meetings of many of the *literati* of Rome were at this time held in the house of Julius Pomponius Laetus, who already, under Pius II, had applied for a secretaryship, but had been refused because of his irregular life. To these meetings many of the ex-abbreviators came. Soon others joined, especially the "young free-thinkers and semi-heathens in their views and morals." Laetus himself was a cultured individual, a pupil of Valla, and a professor of the Roman University.[7] He was an ardent admirer of pagan antiquity and apparently his devotion to the ancients had seriously affected his religious and moral ideals. "The spirit of antiquity was his god." The Christian reli-

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6 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 403.

7 Laetus, as the pupil of Valla, had likely come under the influence of Gemistos Plethon "who probably quickened his taste for a revived paganism." Cf. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 47 (ed. 1897).

gion he despised and inveighed against its advocates and adherents.[8] The home of Laetus, with its large number of followers, soon became known as the Roman Academy. Here Pomponius taught the pagan classics and pagan philosophy. The object of the institution was the "cultivation of pure Latinity and of the ancient national life of the Romans." Greek was not taught for fear of interfering with the pure pronunciation of Latin.[9] The clients assumed names of the heroes of the classical period to make the exercises all the more realistic and to create a practical interest in the antiquity which they worshipped. Rejection of Christian principles and denial of the Faith itself soon followed. The heathen deities were worshipped and the "most repulsive vices of ancient times" practiced by the members. "A heathen idea of the state, hostility to the clergy,[10] and the dream of substituting for the existing government of Rome a Republic of the ancient type, prevailed in this circle, together with Epicurean and materialistic views of life." [11] "All the deplorable elements, Paganism, Heresy and Republicanism, seem to have centered in the Academy." [12]

As might be expected, Paul, once the depravity of the literary sodality became known to him, took decisive measures against it. Some of the leaders he had arrested, and for the information of the whereabouts of those that escaped he offered liberal rewards, three hundred and five hundred ducats. Among the number captured were Laetus and the unfortunate Platina. Both were imprisoned for about the period of a year, when, through obsequious letters and the intervention

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[8] *Depravatis moribus asserebant nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibusdam sanctorum astutiis, quam veris rerum testimoniis subsistere. Canesius in Quirini*, apud Creighton, *op. cit.*, IV, 49 (ed. 1897).

[9] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 43.

[10] Laetus himself was called the "*Pontifex Maximus*" as a protest against the Pope.

[11] Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 45.

[12] Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt* Rom, VII, 570.

of some of the Cardinals, they obtained their freedom, by attributing the responsibility for the irregularities of the Academy to a certain Luca de Tocio, who had fortunately made his escape to Poland.[13]

The action of Paul, while it did not dissolve the Academy, suspended its operations at least for the time being. Its members, as also the entire world of *literati,* had learned a precious lesson. When, under succeeding Popes, the meetings were resumed, many of the objectionable features were carefully guarded against. And, in general, a wholesome reaction followed the apparent drastic steps of the stern Pontiff.

The interdict upon the Academy was but one of the efforts of Paul to purify the Renaissance of its heathen elements. "If God preserves my life," he once said, "I will do two things; in the first place, I will forbid the study of these senseless histories and poems, which are full of heresies and blasphemies, and, secondly, I will prohibit the teaching and practice of Astrology, since so many errors arise thence."[14] "Children, when hardly ten years old, even without going to school, know a thousand villainies. What, then, must they become when, later on, they read Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, and Ovid? Juvenal certainly makes a shew of blaming vice, but he leads his readers to the knowledge of it."[15] Paul was of the opinion that pure Latinity could be acquired without the study of the old classics. He recommended Christian writers or at least such classics as did not breathe an air of immorality and paganism. From the report of a certain Laurentius de Pensanro we learn that the teachers in Rome, in their instructions, were forbidden the use of the classics because of the accompanying danger of heresy.[16] However, this pro-

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13 Platina, *op. cit.,* I, 413.

14 On the study of Astrology during the Renaissance see Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy,* 507-518.

15 Pastor, *History of the Popes,* IV, 60.

16 From this does not follow, as Platina seems to imply, that Paul forbade parents to send their children to school. Cf. Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter,* 515.

hibition did not affect private study. It contemplated the study of the heathen poets in the schools and by the younger element of the citizenry. Nor were all the poets condemned indiscriminately. Paul's idea was to safeguard the moral life of his people, and he condemned only such writers as would jeopardize the standards of right living.[17]

Platina, in branding the Pope as a monster of cruelty and a barbarian "that detested all human learning," was naturally under the influence of a deep-rooted animosity.[18] He wrote like a humanist, given to gross exaggerations, and with a profound disregard for truth.[19] Only a short time previous he had acknowledged his crimes against the Pope, and promised that if released from his cell, he would "become the Pope's most ardent panegyrist, to celebrate in prose and verse 'the golden age of his most happy Pontificate.'" He even promised that he would "abandon classical studies and devote himself entirely to Holy Scripture and Theology."[20] Nevertheless, the vivid report of the gifted writer has been accepted by many as true. Only in more recent years have students of ecclesiastical history viewed the situation in a different, and, no doubt, more correct light.

Between the Christian humanists and the Pope there existed a most friendly relation, irrespective of the fact that Paul made no special efforts, like Nicholas V, to surround himself with a bevy of savants. He loved the scholars and favored them on more than one occasion when conferring offices and distributing gifts.

Gasparo Biondo, for example, was placed in charge of the registers, in grateful acknowledgment of the ser-

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17 Cf. Papencordt, *op. cit.*, 514.

18 Cf. Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 416.

19 "Few of those who read his biography have read his letters, or they would hesitate to give much credence to his ill-natured hints. It is a strong testimony in favour of Paul II that Platina has so little to say against him." Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 54 (ed. 1897).

20 Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 55.

vices of his father, Flavio Biondo. Timoteo Maffei received a present in money, when over taken with sickness. The Pope also provided a physician for him. Niccolo Gallo, a professor of jurisprudence, likewise received money from the Pope when he was sick. Perotti was elevated to a civil position of some distinction. Theodore Gaza, who, since the days of Calixtus, had left Rome, was now called back. Even the veteran, Filelfo, though he received no appointment from the Pontiff, was treated with much respect, in view of the many services that he had rendered the Popes and the cause of learning. Paul gave him four hundred ducats as a reward for the translation of Xenophon's *"Cyropaedia."*[21]

In the selection of Cardinals His Holiness seems to have paid special attention to scholarly attainments. Cardinal Caraffa was a "jurist, a theologian, an antiquarian and a statesman, and was a generous supporter of learning, providing the means for the education of many young men."[22] Cardinal Marco Barbo possessed a fine literary training. Cardinal Amicus Agnifilius was a skilled canonist, whereas Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerra established a name for himself by correcting the plays of Plautus.[23]

Paul's greatest service to the promotion of learning consists, however, in the encouragement and support that he lent to the invention of printing. He apparently took a deep interest in the new art. As early as the year 1467 we find two establishments in the Eternal City, to put to print the many and valuable manuscripts and books that were there conserved. The German printer, Hahn, quickly produced the *"Contemplations"* of Cardinal Torquemada, while his countrymen, Schweinheim and Pannartz erected an imposing establishment to con-

21 Papencordt, *op. cit.*, 515.
22 Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 1, 259 sq.
23 Cf. Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 255.

duct their business on a large scale. Within a few years they produced two editions of the "*Letters of Cicero to his Friends,*" the works of Lactantius, St. Augustine's City of God, the works of St. Jerome, the Holy Scriptures, St. Cyprian's Letters, the Catena Aurea of St. Thomas, and works of Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Gellius and Apulius.[24] Every one of these works was printed with the Pope's approval, many, in fact, were dedicated to him. Paul, furthermore, was most generous in granting manuscripts from the Vaticana for the use of the printers. Typography was admired as a "divine art" and none less than a bishop, Giantonio Campano, was designated as official corrector.[25] Practically the entire Sacred College of Cardinals under Paul, became interested in the work that was being done. "We have as yet found no one," wrote Bussi in 1469, "in the Sacred College of Cardinals who has not been favorable to our efforts, so that the higher the dignity the greater has been their zeal in learning."[26] "As time went on, the Roman clergy maintained an unflagging interest in the 'sacred art' which, in the dedication to Paul II prefixed to the letters of St. Jerome, is said to be 'one of the most auspicious of all the Divine gifts bestowed during his pontificate on the Christian world, enabling even quite poor men at small cost to procure books.' "[27]

The industry of the printers naturally added to the number of books already in the Vatican library. But there are no indications that Paul made any special efforts or spent much money procuring new or rare works. He contented himself, it seems, by guarding

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[24] Quirini, *Pauli II. Vaeti Pont. Max. Vita etc., apud* Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 71; Cf. Falkenstein, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, 211.

[25] Cf. Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, 211.

[26] Quirini, *op cit., apud*, Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV 72. Cf. Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita degli studi di Roma, etc.*, I, 177 sq. By the year 1472 Schweinheim and Pannartz had printed 12495 volumes. As each edition consisted of only 265 vols. (a few had 530), the reader may form some idea of the industry of these men. Cf. Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 368.

[27] Quirini, *op cit., apud* Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 72.

faithfully those entrusted to his charge by the zeal of his predecessors.[28]

A new interest was shown at this time in the welfare of the Roman University. Pius had allowed the institution to decline. Its professors had left because of insufficient pay, and general indifference on the part of their chief patron. Paul followed the example of Eugene IV. It was his special desire that the professors should be paid generously and regularly.[29] He called prominent scholars like Gasparo Verona, Momizio Caldiero and Leonardo Dati back to the Eternal City and appointed them to chairs of learning. With the co-operation of the Roman senate new statutes were drawn up, and the university began to flourish once more.[30]

A similar interest was shown in other institutions of learning. The University of Ingolstadt, which had been the object of Pius' solicitude, had its *studium generale* approved by Paul, received new favors and financial help from him.[31] At Naples, where, owing to wars, scholastic endeavors had ceased, the Pope re-established, as it were, the University, and made it a *studium generale,* with all the privileges, rights and exemptions of other universities.[32] The high school at Huesca was likewise restored and received the right of a *studium generale,* with all the privileges enjoyed by Tolouse, Montpellier and Lerida. Certain benefices were joined to the school and officials appointed to watch over its successful administration.[33] As early as 1459 the Pope

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28 Cf. Muentz, *La Bibliotheque due Vatican au XV^e siecle,* 132; Pastor, *op. cit.,* IV, 66, footnote 2.

29 *"E nulla ebbe piu a cuore, quanto che i pubblici Professori ricevessero ampi e generosi stipendi, e che questi fossero loro puntualmente pagati."* Renazzi, *op. cit.,* I, 193.

30 Renazzi, *op. cit.,* I, 194.

31 Cf. Bulls of May 21, 1465 and July 26, 1465, *apud Prantl, Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians Universitaet in Ingolstadt,* 15 sq.

32 Cf. *Storia della Universita di Napoli, scritta da Francesco Torraca et alii,* 34 (Napoli, 1914).

33 Cf. Denifle, *Die Universitaeten des Mittelalters bis* 1400, 513.

had allowed the erection of a few chairs of learning at Alcala so that "*certis diebus et horis statutis vel statuendis*" grammar and the arts might be taught.[34] He also defended the temporal possessions and the sources of revenue of the University of Louvain against unjust usurpers and granted the personnel the "*privilegium fori.*"[35] Finally, Paul has to his credit the founding of the University of Bourges, by the Bull of December 12, 1464.[36]

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34 Cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, 646.

35 Cf. *Privilegia Academiae Lovaniensi*, 73-80.

36 In the face of the charge of animosity to learning made by Platina and repeated by many others, it is but fair to give the Pope a hearing. A brief excerpt from the Bull will suffice: "*Etsi a summo rerum omnium conditore, . . . deputati, de his que ad fidei catholice fideliumque profectum conferunt, sedulo nos cogitare conveniat, de litterarum tamen studiis et virorum qui incomparabilis thesauri divinarum humanarumque (rerum) cognitionem apprehendere cupiunt incrementis felicibus eo magis cogitare nos convenit, quo ex his, propulsis ignorantie nubibus, Domini Nostri et ejusdem fidei cultus pretenditur, justitia colitur, publica quoque et privata res utiliter geritur, et omnis humane conditionis prosperitas adaugetur: decet igitur pastoralem sollicitudinem non immerito adhibere, ut hujusmodi studia vigeant et continuo augeantur, per que, sicut, experientia teste comperimus, universali ecclesie cunctisque credentibus major potest utilitas provenire.*" Bull of December 12, 1464, apud Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises*, No. 1851.

CHAPTER IX

Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484)

Cardinal Francesco della Rovere, who succeeded Paul II, under the title of Sixtus IV, was a far better educated man than his predecessor. From his earliest years he had been under tutorial attention, and later had attended the advanced School of Chieri and the Universities of Pavia and Bologna. He prepared for a clerical calling as a member of the Franciscan Order, by the studies of Philosophy and Theology and Dialectics. Extraordinary success attended his efforts, and within a short time he had acquired an excellent command of Latin.[1] Upon graduation he taught successively in the Universities of Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Sienna, Florence and Perugia. So great was his fame that scholars came from far and near to attend his lectures. Even eminent ecclesiastics like Cardinal Bessarion, were delighted with, and marvelled at the ability of the young man. It was not merely the fund of information that distinguished Rovere, but rather his able presentation, wherefore he was spoken of as the most gifted preacher of the Franciscan Order in his day. But nowhere did his talents come more into evidence than in the disputations held before the Supreme Pontiff, Pius II, on the question of the Precious Blood.[2] As in the case of Nicholas V it is likely that Rovere's vast knowledge and ready ability as a disputant and orator entered as

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1 Cf. Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, II, 1 sq. on the details of his earlier life.

2 The Question was: "Whether the blood shed by Our Lord in His Passion and reassumed at His Resurrection, was, during the three days He remained in the Sepulchre, hypostatically united with the Godhead, and, therefore, entitled to worship." Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, III, 286.

a decisive factor in his election to the Pontificate. For only five years after the above-named controversy he was, contrary to every expectation, raised by Paul II to the Cardinalate, and elected Pope, not so many years after.

During the leisure hours of his cardinalate Rovere devoted himself to study and learned discussions. He also wrote much. One work was on the same question of "*The Precious Blood,*" written chiefly because of the fact that the debate had been decided against him. He wrote also a work on "*The Power of God*" and dedicated it affectionately to Paul II. Next appeared the "*De Futuris Contingentibus*" occasioned by a dispute in the University of Louvain. And, finally, a Work on the "*Immaculate Conception.*"

As Pope, Sixtus endeavored to imitate the example set by his countryman, Nicholas V.[3] His ambition, too, was to make Rome the center of learning and fine arts, the very nucleus of the Revival of Letters. Hence it is, that under his Pontificate, we see a new interest in the Renaissance. He preferred the splendor of Nicholas' Court to the conservatism of a Pius or Paul; and the many appeals of the humanists, to imitate the former rather than the latter, were quite unnecessary.

Immediately upon his election, Sixtus set to the task of surrounding himself with men of learning and literary proclivities. By this time the Roman people had caught the new spirit, and though the last few Pontificates had not been very favorable to the *literati,* there were now many natives, as well as foreign scholars in the Eternal City. Of the ejected scribes and abbreviators not a few remained hoping for the dawn of a better day.[4]

First of all, he admitted the adventurous Platina to Pontifical favor, and honored him with various impor-

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[3] Both Nicholas V and Sixtus IV were natives of Liguria.

[4] Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* IV, 449; Papencordt, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter,* 517.

tant offices. Because of his wide reputation as a scholar, the Pope directed him to write a history of the Popes, and to gather into book form the various documents pertaining to the temporal power or rights of the Pope.[5] Besides the History of the Popes, Platina wrote the "*History of Mantua,*" a biography of "*Neri Papponi,*" several tracts and dialogues. He likewise began the history of Sixtus IV but died ere it was completed. Jacobus Volaterranus, another secretary of the Pope, continued it, while gathering material for his "*Memoirs.*" [6]

At this time Giantonio Campano, the personal friend of Pius II, wrote his epigrams, orations, poems, tracts and letters, and his biography of Pius II and Paul II.[7] Johannes de Lignamine, the pontifical physician, edited many ancient authors,[8] while his kinsman, Philippus de Lignamine, a Dominican, continued Ricaboldo's "*Chronicles of the Popes*" down to the year 1469 and dedicated it to Sixtus.[9] Sigismondo de Conti, a Christian humanist, wrote "*Le storie de'suoi tempi dal* 1475-1510."[10] Mattia Palmieri was a scriptor at the Papal Curia, and continued the Chronicles of the historian Matteo Palmieri.[11] Domizio Calderini was a teacher of humanism at the Roman University.[12] "Aurelio Brandolini charmed even the unpoetical Sixtus, with his verses, while a bevy of youthful poets, wrote Latin verses of more or less merit." [13]

Many of the old humanists also came back to the Curia. Among them was Theodore Gaza, who continued his translations, in spite of the fact that he was not sat-

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5 Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* VII, 588, n. 2.

6 Cf. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* XXIII; Gregorovius, *op. cit.,* VII, 590.

7 Gregorovius, *op cit.,* VII, 601.

8 Gregorovius, *op. cit.,* VII, 517.

9 Pastor, *op. cit.,* IV 442.

10 Pastor, *op. cit.,* III, xxxv.

11 Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* III, 1, 350.

12 Reumont, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

13 Pastor, *op. cit.,* IV. 442.

isfied with the remunerations which Sixtus allowed.[14] Filelfo, who was now in his seventy-seventh year, after many complaints and threats, was given a professorship at the Roman University. He expounded the writings of Cicero for a period of four hours daily.[15] It seems, however, that he stayed in Rome only a short while, because his salary was not paid regularly.[16]

Sixtus also drew to Rome scholars from foreign lands. From Constantinople he obtained Johannes Argyropolus, a Greek of profound learning in the classics and in the history of his country. He translated a number of works from Greek into Latin.[17] Regiomontanus (Johannes Mueller von Königsberg) came to Rome in 1475 to place his talents at the service of Sixtus; he died, however, the following year, without having accomplished much.[18] Marsilio Ficio, the Florentine philosopher was also invited but could not come, because of his devotion to the Medici family.[19] Among the foreign savants, the juristic profession is said to have been well represented.[20]

In his zeal to bring lustre to the Papacy, Sixtus reconstituted the office of apostolic abbreviator, which as we have noted, his immediate predecessor had suppressed. On January 11, 1479, he drew up a new constitution, whereby the administration of the college of abbreviators was entrusted to the Vice-Chancellor, who could also appoint twenty-one of the entire number of seventy-two. Sixtus, likewise, increased the personnel in the other departments of the Apostolic Chancery.[21] Many of these

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14 It is reported that Gaza, scornfully cast the money that he received from the Pope into the Tiber. Cf. Pastor, IV, 444.

15 Muentz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France*, 89.

16 "Sixtus IV was better in promises than in the careful administration which is necessary to secure their fulfillment." Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 128 (ed. 1897).

17 Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, I, 372.

18 Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1, 356.

19 Muentz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France*, 84.

20 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, I, 185 sqq.

21 Cf. De Roo, *History of Pope Alexander VI*, II, 72 sqq.

offices were, however, not given on the exclusive ground of merit, but were sold, in order to raise funds for the treasury.[22] It is maintained that at the time of Sixtus' accession in 1471, there were no less than 650 vendible offices, which brought the sum of 100,000 scudi. Sixtus increased the number considerably. "He established whole colleges at once, the posts in which he sold for a few hundred ducats."[23]

Equally indulgent was the new Pope to the Roman Academy. To him the charges brought against the members seemed not so serious. Instead of pursuing the course of his predecessor, he openly encouraged the academicians in their literary efforts, and urged scholars to join the sodality. Perhaps he deemed the report concerning the irregularities of the institution an exaggeration, or he may have thought "that the humanists had learned their lesson and taken it to heart." Still it is clear that the institution as a whole had put on a different complexion. Many of the Christian humanists, clerics and even prominent prelates, like Cardinal Farnese, the future Paul III, thought it not unbecoming to belong to it. Religious celebrations now took the place of the Palilia, with its pagan solemnities.[24] But it is not improbable either, that the Pontiff may at times have compromised beyond the edification of his flock. Surely the secular services that he allowed on the occasion of Platinia's entombment were quite out of harmony with the traditions of the Church, whose Faith and Morals he was to maintain intact. But as Pastor fitly remarks: "The Rome of that day was indeed full of strange contrasts, against which no one protested. Christian and heathen Humanism are to be seen walking side by side in daily life, and apparently incommoding each other

22 Nevertheless, all applicants were subject to an examination given by the Vice-Chancellor. De Roo, *loc. cit.*

23 Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 103.

24 Cf. Renazzi, *op. cit.*, II, 19; Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 361; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 446.

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as little as did the reforms and abuses which prevailed together in the Church." [25]

In spite of his efforts and leniency towards the *literati*, the Court of Sixtus did not acquire the lustre of former days. Few of the numerous officials that swarmed the Vatican Palace, were outstanding scholars. Even in the selection of his Cardinals, the Pope apparently paid more attention to "blood than to brain." Of the thirty-five individuals whom he raised to the Church's princely ranks, many, alas, were embued more with the spirit of the world, than with love for learning or for the Church. This fact proves the more unconsoling, when we reflect that many of the older Cardinals died in rapid succession, so that, at the end of Sixtus' reign there were only five members in the sacred college who were not indebted to him for their august dignity.[26]

But the reputation of Sixtus IV as a promoter of learning rests rather with the interest that he displayed in the Vatican Library, than with his patronage of scholars.

The Vaticana, as we have indicated before, experienced no important increases since the days of Nicholas V. Calixtus had even given some of the books away. From the very inception of his reign, Sixtus determined to bring to completion the dream of his countryman, "to establish in Rome, the finest library in the world." He had a new building erected to receive the books collected by his predecessors and to make them accessible to the Public. Platina was placed in charge of the construction of the new edifice, and seems to have exercised a rather free hand in the selection of the artists and craftsmen. The Pope allowed him all necessary funds to bring the plans to a rapid realization. The old books were re-

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[25] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 452.
[26] Cf. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 131 (ed. 1897).

bound with expensive and beautiful covers.[27] The actual transfer to the new library took place in 1475. There were in all four different halls, each containing documents, manuscripts and books of a definite nature. To encourage the patrons and scholars, Sixtus provided for heating conveniences during the colder months of the year.[28] He, himself, and many of the Cardinals were frequent visitors.

The humanist, Giondrea Bussi, prominent under Paul II, was placed in charge of the books. This appointment was of significance because of the interest which Bussi had in the printing establishment at Rome. Many of the manuscripts were in this manner made accessible to the printers, and he could furnish them with much useful information. Upon the death of Bussi in 1475, Platina was given complete charge of the Library with an annual salary of 120 ducats, and living quarters. He had two regular assistants (custodes) who received 12 ducats each per annum. There were also three scriptores, to copy Latin, Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. Platina was succeeded by Bartolomeo Manfredi.[29]

Not content with the erection of the new edifice, Sixtus made special efforts to add new manuscripts to the collection. He set aside a regular revenue for this purpose, and in 1477 issued a special Bull to provide for the expenses of the institution and for the salary of its custodians. Like Nicholas, he had agents in all parts of Europe, buying and copying manuscripts for him. Vespasiano, the Florentine bookseller, speaks of the era of Sixtus, as marking a new epoch in the book-trade.

How successful the Pope was in realizing his ambition appears from the fact that in 1475 there were 2527 volumes in Latin and Greek. Within the next nine years, with the co-operation of Platina, Jacobus Volterranus,

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27 Clark, *Care of Books*, 209.

28 Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 439 sqq. Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican, au XV^e siecle*, 140.

29 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 140 sqq. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VII, 513.

Leonardi Dati, Domizio Calderino, Mattia Palmieri and Sigismondo de'Conti he added another thousand.[30] "In order to appreciate the importance of the collection, let us remember than ten years later the library of the wealthy Medici contained about a thousand manuscripts." [31]

Most of the works were of a Theological or Philosophical nature. The Fathers, too, were well represented. We give the inventory of 1475 as recorded in Muentz. "This inventory mentions 26 volumes of St. Chrysostom's writings, 28 of St. Ambrose, 31 of St. Gregory, 41 of Canon Law, 51 of Records of Councils, 51 of the works of St. Thomas, 57 of St. Jerome and 81 of St. Augustine. The Old and New Testament occupy 59 volumes, and Glosses on the Scripture 98. Celebrated Greek authors are represented by 109 volumes, and there are 116 on religious subjects by less-known writers of the same nation. Compared with the collection of Nicholas V., the total absence of any writings in the vernacular is a defect. The classics occupy the second place; there are 14 volumes of the works of Seneca, 53 of the Latin Poets, 70 of the Greek Poetry and Grammar, 125 of Roman and 59 of Grecian History. The Latin writers on Astrology and Geometry contribute 19, and Greek Astrologers 49 volumes. Latin Philosophers 103 and Greek 94. There were 55 Latin and 14 Greek works on Medicine." [32]

Considering the customs and conditions of the times, the rules regulating the loan of manuscripts were most liberal. It seems that all scholars and even strangers passing through Rome could quite easily secure authorization to borrow the volumes, for a longer or shorter period according to the librarian's judgment. Trouble was, however, bound to come, and even as early as 1475

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[30] Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.*, 135, 141.
[31] Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 434.
[32] Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e siecle*, 142, 159 sqq.

the Pope had to take stringent measures to recover some of the books that had been borrowed.[33]

The zeal displayed by Sixtus in the erection and organization of the library is explained in the Bull of July 1, 1477—it was his purpose "to glorify the Church militant, to spread the Catholic Truth and to advance learning."[34] Pastor, in reviewing the noble efforts of the Pontiff rightly declares: "The organization of the Vaticana and its opening to the public, would suffice to secure for Sixtus IV an abiding record in the history of scholars. But his other efforts for the promotion of learning were by no means inconsiderable."[35]

In the light of his marvelous achievements for the benefit of the Vaticana, it seems not a little strange that Sixtus should have accomplished so little for the Roman University. Paul transmitted the institution in a flourishing condition. Reputed professors lectured in all the branches of the Renaissance curriculum. But now the university rapidly declined. Sixtus not only failed to encourage the educational activities, but, according to Renazzi, took measures to suspend them completely.[36] He sold the office of notary of public studies, and other posts; increased the taxes for the professors, and finally withheld their just salaries. This was hard for the scholars to understand. Since the Pope himself had been engaged in teaching for so many years, they hoped that he would be especially sympathetic to their lot.

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33 The Pope issued a Bull, warning all those who unlawfully held books from the Library, to return them within 40 days or incur excommunication. Cf. Clarke, *Care of Books*, 269. Interesting are the words of warning, to those who borrowed books: "Whoever writes his name here in acknowledgment of books received on loan out of the Pope's library, will incur his anger and his curse, unless he return them uninjured within a very brief period." Clarke, *op. cit.*, 76-78, 230.

34 For the Bull see Muentz, *op. cit.*, 300 sqq.

35 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 439.

36 "*Che anzi fece all 'incontro ogni sforzo per distrugger la grand' opera del pubblico studio di Roma.*" Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

Many distinguished savants, among them Theodore Gaza and Alfonso Soto, reliquished their chairs for other centers of learning.[37]

Nevertheless there is danger of judging the Pontiff too harshly. His attitude regarding the University seems to have been the necessary result of the war-like conditions of the times. Likely he would have supported the institution more energetically, had the state of the apostolic treasury permitted it. Foreign educational centers fared differently.

He granted the professors of the University of Avignon an increase in salary, and prescribed a special honorarium.[38] When it was brought to his attention that the studies in the University of Louvain were not flourishing because of lack of funds, he quickly placed special obligations on certain wealthy benefices and made provisions for poor students.[39] The University of Ingolstadt, in virtue of a Bull of July 21, 1447, was allowed to reduce the number of professors in the faculty of Canon Law, without loss of privileges, and was assisted in the recovery of property, unlawfully taken from her.[40] The Pope confirmed the foundation of the College of Sigüenza and issued a bull approving the founding and constitution of the College of Valladolid.[41] On May 6, 1481, he gave the College of Roure some of the books remaining at Avignon.[42] The University of Saragossa received a *"studium generale in artibus"* together with all the privileges and rights and immuni-

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37 Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 196.

38 Cf. Bull of June 5, 1475, *apud Fournier, Les Statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises,* no. 1366. Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta,* no. 6794.

39 Cf. Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta,* nos. 4557, 4558; *Privilgcia Academiae Lovaniensi,* 85-90.

40 Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians Universitaet in Ingolstadt,* 68.

41 La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana,* II, 15, Cf. also, I, 248, regarding the College of Saragoza.

42 Cf. Bull of May 6, 1481, apud Fournier, *op. cit.,* 1383. Cf. furthermore, nos. 1379, 1367, 324, 1374, 1388, 1389, 1391, 1398, 1476. Which mention items of interest regarding the educational work of Sixtus.

ties of the University of Paris.[43] By a Bull of the year 1475, he founded the University of Copenhagen, and the following year issued two more Bulls approving the founding of the Universities of Mainz and Tuebingen.

Finally, it seems that Sixtus replied favorably to a petition from the Dominican and other Friars of Ireland, to establish a University at Dublin, with the power of conferring degrees. Although nothing came of the agitation, the Pope's interest in the project cannot be doubted.[44]

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43 Cf. Bull of Dec. 1, 1474, apud La Fuente, *op. cit.*, I, 341; for the erection of the College of San Antonio De Portaceli, see La Fuente, II, 533.

44 Newman, *Historical Sketches*, III, 211. With respect to the Univ. of Heidelberg, see Hautz, *Geschichte der Universitaet Heidelberg*, I, 67, 208, 316.

CHAPTER X

Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492)

The happy impetus given to the Revival of Learning by the indorsement of Sixtus IV lost much of its force during the succeeding pontificate. Although Cardinal Cybo, the next Pontiff, under the title of Innocent VIII, had been privileged to attend the universities of Padua and Rome, his records did not point to any extrordinary zeal or great talent.[1] Nor was he a strong character. Whatever success he achieved was due to his amiable and benevolent disposition.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to brand the new Pope an enemy of culture or learning. The limited success that attended his own studies did not antagonize him to the educational struggles going on throughout Europe, and especially in Italy and Rome. He admired learning and loved the scholars with their literary productions.[2] Few Popes, we believe, experienced a more unalloyed joy in the dedications of scholarly works than Innocent. He was much elated, for instance, over the fact that the humanist, Tito Strozzi, offered him a collection of poems, and gratefully acknowledged the "*Panegyricus Innocentio VIII, P. M.*" of Petrus Marcus. The physician Gabrielli Zerbi, in virtue of a dedication, received a raise in salary of one hundred florins.[3] Angelo Poliziano received two hundred ducats for the translation of Herodian and was urged by the Pope to devote himself ex-

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[1] Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VII, 271. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 38.

[2] *Sebbene a loro pro non facesse gran cose; pure fu sempre propenso, e pronto in favorire gli uomini dotti, e le persone studiose.*" Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, I, 180.

[3] Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, V, 329.

clusively to scholarly pursuits. Innocent hoped in this way to make the historical works of the Greeks serviceable to a larger circle of readers.[4]

Nor did this Pontiff permit the finished quality of the Papal documents to decline during his reign. He employed gifted secretaries like Giovanni Lorenzi, Sigismondo de Conti, Andreas Trapezuntius, Jacobus Volterranus and Johannes Petrus Arrivabenus.[5] Similar to his predecessor, Innocent sold many offices in order to raise funds for the treasury. He increased the number of secretaries, and instituted a new college of Piombatori, with an entrance fee of five hundred florins. Even the post of head librarian was put on sale.[6]

It was at this time, too, that the classical plays of Plautus, Ariostos and others were first reproduced in Rome. Pomponius Laetus and his colleagues directed the performances. Whereas, Innocent himself may not have encouraged the presentations, many of the worldly-minded Cardinals lent them their hearty indorsement. Most indulgent of all was Cardinal Raffaele Riorio, who did not hesitate to stage them in his own palace and support them "with princely munificence."[7]

Notwithstanding the fact that Innocent loved literature, the search for manuscripts and old books came practically to a standstill. No noteworthy purchases were made.[8] But a Pope "whose embarrassments were

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4 "*Librum quem nuper ad Nos misisti, e Graeco in Latinum traductum, gratissimo animo accepimus, tum propter rei novitatem, tum quod doctrina, et ingenio ita cultus est multorum judicio, quos apud Nos doctos habemus, ut Bibliothecae nostrae magnum sit ornamentum allaturum. Gratias tibi propterea maximas agimus, virtutemque tuam id Domino commendamus, hortantes idem in posterum facere perseveres. . . .*" The letter of Innocent to Poliziano, on the reception of his book. Cf. Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 279.

5 "The numerous marks of favour bestowed by Innocent VIII on Giovanni Lorenzi are an additional proof of the friendly disposition of this Pope towards the Renaissance." Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 330.

6 Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 353. Cf. Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 103.

7 Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 123.

8 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e siecle*, 307.

such as to make him pledge his papal tiara" could hardly be expected to set aside much money for literary treasures. However, the library itself continued to function as in the days of Sixtus. Its doors were open to the public and students and scholars were always welcome. "It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest liberality continued to be shewn in regard to the use of manuscripts, which were frequently lent to students, even out of Rome."[9]

To the credit of Innocent it must be said that the Roman University, under his pontificate, regained some of its former splendor. He saw to it that the provisions set down by Eugene IV and the other popes, were carefully carried out. The University again received the taxes from the wine, and the professors were paid fully and promptly. Whenever, as happened in the years of 1487 and 1488, the taxes from the wine proved insufficient, the deficit was supplied from the apostolic treasury. Good professors were again hired, and the number of students rapidly increased. Innocent, in fact, contemplated razing the old building and erecting new edifices, but just as the work was about to begin, the Pope was overtaken by his last illness.[10]

For the seats of learning outside of the Eternal City, Innocent apparently had little concern. Still he did not show any unfriendly attitude towards them. We know, for example, that the relations between him and the Universities of Heidelberg and Caen were very friendly.[11] He approved the laws and regulations or-

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9 Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 330.

10 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita de Roma*, I, 197.

11 Cf. Hautz, *Geschichte der Universitaet Heidelberg*, I, 354; Bull of Sept. 12, 1484, apud Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privileges des Universites Francaises*, no. 1694.

dained by the founder of the College of Sigüenza.[12] For the University of Prague he made financial provisions,[13] and ordered that whosoever unlawfully held property of the University of Orleans should make complete and perfect restitution under pain of excommunication.[14]

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12 Cf. La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana,* II, 15.

13 Cf. Fabronio Angelo, *Historiae Academiae Pisanae,* I, 92.

14 Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.*, no. 348.

CHAPTER XI

Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503)

The Pontificate of Innocent VIII was followed by the election of Cardinal de Borgia, whose life and reign have been a matter of more than common interest to the student of history.

Rodrigo de Borgia had enjoyed exceptional educational opportunities from his earliest years. Calixtus III, his uncle, seems to have taken a great interest in the child, and procured for him every possible advantage of a thorough training. At the age of ten Rodrigo came to Valencia with his mother and matriculated in the schools of that famous seat of learning. Later he attended the University of Bologna, where unusual success attended his course in civil and ecclesiastical law. The degree of "Doctor of both Laws" was conferred upon him, with the additional distinction, "the most eminent and judicious jurisprudent."[1] In oratory he was likewise at the head of his class. Still his speeches are not representative of the period in which he lived. In his discourses, as also in his writings upon secular subjects, we find few quotations from the classics. His sermons, however, are reinforced with copious texts from the Sacred Scriptures. They are written in a simple style, lacking poetic flourishes, and hardly do justice, it is said, to the vast erudition and ready knowledge of De Borgia.[2]

In the year 1457, Rodrigo, when only twenty-six years

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[1] Regarding the studies at Bologna, see Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VII, 303; De Roo, *History of Pope Alexander VI*, II, 29.

[2] Alexander was widely admired for his knowledge. "*quamvis juvenili aetate, moribus tamen et prudentia sensilibus et qui patrui*" *Aeneas Sylvius*, apud Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini*, III, 510.

of age, was made Vice-chancellor of the Curia. Here, besides great prudence, he gave evidence of uncommon business ability, especially in the execution of Papal documents and bulls. The leisure moments which this important office allowed were spent in reading, studying and writing. Among his works is the *"Glossae Roderici Portuensis Episcopi in Regulas Cancellarie et Constitutiones Innocentii VIII de Beneficiis,"* devoted, as the title would indicate, to an explanation of the rules of the chancery. The *"History of the Council of Madrid"* and *"On the Office of Vice-Chancellor"* are works of minor importance. As Pope he wrote the *"Clipeus Defensionis Fidei Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae,"* which is an attack upon the neo-paganism of the heathen Renaissance, and many letters to distinguished persons of Europe.[3]

Alexander followed, at least partly, the example of Nicholas and Sixtus, by gathering around him men of scholarly dispositions. As Cardinal he had made it his practice to bring to his palace men of learning and culture, with whom he delighted to converse; as Pope he showed his appreciation by elevating them to positions of prominence in the Church. Of the forty-seven Cardinals created by him a fair number were reputed for their academic attainments no less than for the saintly lives.

Cardinal Sangiorgio, for instance, was a jurisconsult of both laws. Cardinal De Carvajal possessed deep theological knowledge. Equally famous was the Cardinal of Poland, Fredric Casimir. Julian de Caesarenis and Dominic Grimani also brought lustre to the Papacy. Lodovico Podocartho, a scholar of Oriental languages, was made a secretary and regent of the University. A certain Petrus Sabinus, who held the chair of eloquence in the Roman University, possessed

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3 Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI, 165. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VII, 303; *De Roo, op. cit.*, II, 275.

a beautiful collection of Christian inscriptions, and Laurentius Behaim collected epigrams and inscriptions.[4] Ermolao Barbaro dedicated to Alexander his "*Castigationes Plinianos,*" while Paul Cortesius finished his "*Compendium of Dogma,*" in which he wraps Christian dogmas in pagan garment.[5] The list might be prolonged by the names of less important figures.

In face of the many shortcomings of his Pontificate, it is refreshing to observe the energetic measures which Alexander employed to suppress improper literature. In the edict of June 1, 1501, addressed to Germany, the Pope appeals in warm terms against the abuses to which the art of printing had given rise, especially in the dioceses of Cologne, Mayence, Treves, and Magdeburg. "Since we desire to put a stop to so detestable an evil without any delay," writes the Pontiff, "in accordance with the duty imposed upon us by our pastoral office, we hereby, in virtue of our apostolic authority, forbid all printers and their assistants residing in the above-named dioceses, under pain of excommunication, *latae sententiae,* and a fine to be imposed by the Archbishops of Cologne or their Vicars-General or other officials, and paid in the Apostolic Chancery, from henceforth either to print or cause to be printed, any book, pamphlet, or work of any sort, without first submitting the same to the above-named Archbishops or their Vicars-General or officials, and obtaining their express permission, gratuitously given. . . . etc."[6]

Alexander's love for manuscripts and books is clear from the fact that as cardinal he had already collected a beautiful library, containing books on almost every subject of human knowledge. Likely, he made not a few additions to this Library during the years of his Pontificate. The public Library of the Vatican he much neg-

4 Cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.,* VII, 561, 594; De Roo, *op. cit.,* IV, 446.
5 Pastor, *op. cit.,* V, 143.
6 Pastor, *op. cit.,* VI, 155.

lected, notwithstanding the fact that Pomponius Laetus was sent to Germany to buy manuscripts.[7] He never lost his sense of appreciation for literary works, for in the year 1499 he accepted books as a security for the money that King Frederick of Naples owed him.[8] He likewise encouraged the book trade by reducing the tariff on all books brought into the Papal States.

Alexander's chief contribution to education centers around the Roman University. One of his first acts was to intrust the welfare of the institution to the Roman Governor. As new rector he appointed Nicholas Ursini, the learned bishop of Nola. As soon as the financial condition allowed,[9] the Pope executed the scheme of his predecessor. He ordered the old buildings removed and in their place erected new, modern dwellings for the professors and students. In the construction of these buildings he was most solicitous. Prominent architects from Florence were engaged to draw up the plans, while special committees were chosen to see to it that the work was done properly. "When completed, the Archigymnasium of Rome was an imposing, beautiful structure, worthy of the Christian civilization fostered in it, and of the great protector of literature and science who erected it."[10]

It was Alexander's constant aim to pay his employees well and punctually.[11] The professors, besides their regular salary, frequently received *honoraria,* and those with exceptional ability or zeal would be rapidly promoted with an increase of salary.[12] In consequence reputed teachers came to Rome during his reign, and the

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7 It is maintained that Pomponius Laetus brought back a large number of books. Cf. Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XV^e siccle,* 312.

8 Cf. De Roo, *op. cit.,* IV, 455.

9 This was in 1497, *cf. Motu Proprio in Renazzi, Storia dell' Universita di Roma, I,* Appendix XI.

10 De Roo, *History of Pope Alexander VI,* IV, 452.

11 Cf. Renazzi, *op. cit.,* I, Appendix XII; Roscoe, *Life of Leo X,* II, 283.

12 Renazzi, *op. cit.,* I, 197.

courses taught are said to have been the most complete, covering "all branches of advanced education" in the field of literature and the liberal arts. Alexander repeated the prescription of his predecessor, protecting duly created Doctors and Masters against such as had obtained honorary degrees through the influence of men in power. He likewise favored poor students by permitting them to take the examinations without the payment of the regular fee.[13]

The Pontiff's solicitude, true to the traditions of the Papacy, was not restricted to the University at Rome, but reached out to schools in Italy and all parts of Europe.

Upon the request of the King and Queen of Spain, he issued a Bull on the fourth of August, 1497, directing the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Salamanca, either personally or through a delegate, to conduct a canonical visitation of the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid *"necnon quasqumque alias universitates et studia generalia et particularia"* of Spain and to institute the necessary reforms, in their heads and members, both as to morality and personnel. They were given the authority to reform even the laws and regulations, to supervise the appointment of teachers, and to make all other reforms that they might find necessary.[14]

Being grieved at the lack of educational opportunities in Scotland, Alexander ordered the erection of the University of Aberdeen, with a faculty in Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine and Literature.[15] He likewise ordered a chair for Civil and Canon Law for the University of Vienna, where, apparently, the study of jurisprudence was much neglected.[16] The University of Erfurt

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[13] Cf. De Roo, *op. cit.*, IV, 449; Also IV, 456, where a list of the more prominent professors is given.

[14] See Brief of Aug. 1, 1497, apud De Roo, *op. cit.*, III, 493.

[15] Cf. De Roo, *op. cit.*, IV, 456.

[16] Cf. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitaeten d. Mittelalters, bis* 1400, 625.

was similarly favored.[17] By a Bull of April 13, 1499, he directed the school of Alcala to open courses in Theology, Canon Law and the liberal arts, giving it at the same time the privileges which Bologna, Salamanca and Valladolid enjoyed.[18] He also provided for the financial needs of the institution by uniting to it simple benefices.[19]

His Alma Mater, the College of Valencia, was the recipient of special favors. This college had been founded in 1412, but had never been, properly speaking, an advanced school, with a *studium generale*.[20] On January 23, 1501, Alexander raised it to the rank of a university with a "*studium generale, in Theologia, ac Jure Canonico et Civili necnon Medicina et Artibus Liberalibus ac Latinis et Graecis Litteris*" and all the privileges and powers of the large Spanish Universities.[21]

The Pope helped the University of Avignon by increasing the salary of its professors, and the University of Lisbon by "attributing to it a portion of the ecclesiastical revenue of the Kingdom."[22] At the collegiate chapel of the Royal Palace of Pisa, he founded a school of Music, where pupils were instructed in music and "*grammaticalibus competenter, ut congruit seu convenit viris ecclesiasticis.*"[23]

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17 De Roo, *op. cit.*, IV, 457.
18 La Fuente, *Historia de Las Universidades en Espana*, II, 559.
19 Denifle, *op. cit.*, 647.
20 Denifle, *op. cit.*, 645.
21 La Fuente, *op. cit.*, I, 351.
22 De Roo, *op. cit.*, IV, 459.
23 De Roo, *op. cit.*, IV, 460. For Alexander's interest in Church Music, see De Roo, *op. cit.*, II, 234.

CHAPTER XII

Pope Pius III (1503)

The short reign of the next Pope, Pius III,[1] naturally offers little material for our treatise. We need call attention only to the fact that Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini was a nephew of Pius II and a man of deep learning and ready ability. Besides a thorough knowledge of Latin he was familiar with the German language, having learned it while in the service of his uncle. "The Cardinal of Sienna had always distinguished himself by his cultivation of mind, his great ability and his blameless life." The election of Piccolomini was received with much joy and many hopes for a blessed pontificate. What might have been accomplished by him in favor of education, had his pontificate been longer, can only be a matter of conjecture. The people of Rome, however, and the humanists, and all those interested in intellectual pursuits, had reasons for their bright hopes.

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[1] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI, 198. Pius III, was elected on Sept. 22, 1503, and died Oct. 18, 1503.

CHAPTER XIII

Pope Julius II (1503-1513)

The Conclave of October 31, 1503, which lasted but a few hours, resulted in the election of Cardinal Guiliano della Rovere, who took the name of Julius II. As to character, he was a man that was both loved and feared. "Restless and ever in motion, ceaselessly active and perpetually occupied with some great design, self-willed and passionate to the highest degree, he was often extremely trying to those who were brought in contact with him."[1] A contemporary describes him as "fortunate rather than prudent, courageous rather than strong, but ambitious and, beyond measure, desirous of every kind of greatness. Alexander and Julius were so great that they may be called emperors rather than Popes."[2] "He was a genuine child of the South, impulsive, passionate, herculean in strength."[3]

But a scholar or an enthusiast for learning he was not.[4] Apparently, he diligently kept aloof from the literary revival which was fast reaching its noonday splendor in all parts of Europe. Whatever progress learning or scholarship made during the ten years of his reign must be ascribed to other agencies and influences than to the wearer of the tiara. Julius' interests ran in a different direction.

Yet it is consoling to note that this Pope was by no means opposed to the Renaissance of letters. He was, unquestionably, on friendly terms with many of the more

1 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI, 213.

2 The word, "*great*" must here be taken in its Renaissance meaning. Cf. Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 165.

3 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI, 454.

4 Julius used to feel great embarrassment, whenever he was called upon to speak in public. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VII, 73, VIII, 221.

prominent scholars of his day. Some he favored with his patronage, though it is known that in general he was rather parsimonious. He retained Sigismondo de Conti as a secretary and allowed him time for his historical researches.[5] The reputed Tommaso Inghirami, who was called the Cicero of his day, was placed in charge of the Vatican Library.[6] Nicholas von Schoenberg was appointed to the chair of Theology in the Roman University, and "frequently called upon to lecture in the Pope's presence." Especially intimate was the friendship between the Pope and Pietro Bembo, who had acquired fame for his ability to decipher ancient manuscripts, and for his knowledge of the art of abbreviation.[7] Julius called to Rome also Scipione Forteguerra, a man so skilled in Greek "that we are assured that the Greeks themselves acknowledged his superiority, even in their native language."[8] On one occasion he is also said to have crowned two poets.[9] The fact that so few humanists have complaints to make against the Pope, is a convincing indication that he was in no way inimical to them. It is clear that in spite of the troubled conditions of his pontificate, many *literati* and especially poets, came to Rome, and met with hospitality, though they were not employed in the Vatican.[10]

While still a Cardinal Julius had taken a deep interest in collecting books and Manuscripts.[11] He had a beautiful private library, which was transferred to the papal suite upon his election. Similar to his predecessor, Alexander VI, Julius centered his attention upon this private collection rather than upon the Vaticana. He added

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5 Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII, 312.

6 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI, 457.

7 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, II, 191.

8 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, II, 325.

9 Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 175, 274.

10 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 186. Julius added another hundred writers of archives. Cf. Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 103.

11 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XVI*e *siecle*, 5 sq.

costly and rare books to it as these could be obtained.[12] We hear nothing concerning the subsequent fate of this private library, but the general impression is that eventually it was joined to the large Vatican Library begun by Nicholas V.[13]

As librarian, Julius appointed besides Inghirami, above mentioned, G. Maffei, of Volterra. These were assisted by Demetrio of Lucca, Lorenzo Parmenio, Jean Chadel, of Lyons, and Romulus Mammacinus.[14] The library was still open to the public, and the customary liberality in lending manuscripts was maintained. Eventually, however, Julius found it necessary to issue special regulations regarding the borrowing of certain documents from the Archives of the Camera Apostolica.[15] He also added a new hall, known as the Cortile di San Damaso.

The disturbed conditions of Julius' Pontificate had their serious reaction upon the state of the Roman University. Not merely the Pope, but the people of Rome and even the Rector and Administrators of the University turned their attention to the pursuits of war rather than to the study of the sciences and the arts.[16] Heavy debts were soon incurred so that the Pope found it impossible to pay the professors liberal salaries, and many of the illustrious men engaged by Innocent III and Alexander VI naturally sought employment elsewhere. Even the foreign students deemed it wiser to leave the city.

But here, too, there is danger of misunderstanding the position of the Pope. Julius, as a matter of fact, was interested in the University. Even under the most embarrassing financial circumstances, he insisted that the academic activities should continue, and that the buildings

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12 Cf. the letter of Bembo to the Pope, in Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 194.

13 Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 190; Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 332.

14 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 10, sqq.

15 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 15; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI, 458 note.

16 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, II, 24.

which since the days of Alexander VI had been under construction, should be completed. He also issued a bull, confirming the privileges of his predecessors, and forbade that the revenue set aside for education, should be used for any other purpose.[17]

The institutions of learning outside of Rome, were only on rare occasions made the objects of the Pope's solicitude. On August 29, 1512, he confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the University of Basel and placed it upon better financial foundations.[18] The College of Seville, which did not rise to prominence until the Sixteenth Century, received the power to confer degrees in the Arts, Theology, Canon and Civil Law, and Medicine.[19] He restored to the University of Huesca certain benefices which had been taken from it.[20] The professors of the University of Perugia were given a higher salary,[21] and for the University of Ingolstadt he devised ways and means of improving its financial condition.[22]

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17 Cf. Renazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 200; Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 332.
18 Vischer, *Geschichte der Universitaet Basel*, 62.
19 La Fuente *Historia de las Universidades en Espana*, II, 94.
20 Cf. Bull of Dec. 2, 1505, apud La Fuente, *op. cit.*, II, 548.
21 Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 99.
22 Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta*, nos. 1898, 1899, 5686.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pope Leo X. Patron of Scholars and Promoter of Learning (1513-1522)

More than a hundred years had now elapsed since the beginning of the Renaissance Movement. During that period some of the ruling Pontiffs had zealously furthered the Revival, others again had been rather indifferent to it. Since the days of Pope Sixtus IV little had been done to prove the Papacy a patron of scholarship and learning. The fine arts had indeed been sponsored, but this only at the expense of the Revival in the literary sphere. "Amidst the sacking of cities, the downfall of states, the extinction or the exile of powerful families and distinguished patrons of literature, and all the horrors of domestic war, was it possible for the sciences, the muses and the arts, to pursue their peaceable and elegant avocations?"[1]

But now, the war-like turmoil of the Papacy was past, and the field was once again open to more peaceful and becoming endeavors. The Conclave of 1513 elected as successor to Julius II Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici, a man whose very name and reputation was the "representative symbol of the world of literature." Great exultation followed in all circles of society, but especially in the ranks of the scholars and humanists. A splendor and magnificence accompanied his coronation, the like of which Rome had seldom been privileged to see. Triumphal arches graced with Christian and Pagan inscriptions alike, and adorned with countless statues of pagan deities, "proclaimed the dawn of the age of Pallas Athene."[2]

1 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, II, 276.
2 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 183; Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 213; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 107.

Leo, a child of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had enjoyed uncommon opportunities for the acquisition of a liberal education. His father, while himself zealous in the discharge of his parental duties, employed the gifted Angelo Poliziano and Marsilio Ficino as tutors to Giovanni. Greek instructions he received from two native sons of Hellas, Demetrius Chalcondyles and Petri Aegineta,[3] while Bernardo Michelozzi, a private secretary to Lorenzo, taught him literature. The advanced studies were under the direction of Bernardo da Bibbiena, the future cardinal, and an outstanding figure in contemporary Latin literature. Of significance in the educative process of this distinguished member of the de'Medici family was furthermore his constant association and familiar intercourse with the *elite* of the educated Florentines, who gathered at the palace of his father.[4]

Giovanni was created Cardinal at the age of seventeen. He lacked, however, knowledge of Canon Law and Theology, so that on the recommendation of the Supreme Pontiff, he retired to Pisa and matriculated under Philipo Decio and Bartolomeo Sozzini.

Like his eminent predecessor, Nicholas V, Pope Leo X, immediately upon his elevation devised plans whereby he might bring to Rome all the distinguished musicians, artists and scholars of the world. In this he was more successful, at least in certain respects, than Nicholas had been. However, the strong competition experienced in the early Renaissance existed now no longer. Naples was at this time under the Spanish Government; the Aragon family had been expelled and with it the entire "literary constellation, which had shone so bright at the close of the preceding century." Milan had suffered because of frequent changes of rulers which had made it an unsafe "asylum for either the muses or the arts." Venice

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[3] Many other persons are mentioned by different authors as having been his instructors, but perhaps without sufficient foundation. Cf. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, I, 74.

[4] Cf. Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, II, 2.

had experienced a decline in its cultural life because of constant warfare and civil unrest. In Mantua was the Gonzaga family. Military expeditions had reduced their resources to such a state as made unrestricted patronage of learning impossible. The only competition experienced by Leo came from Ferrara, where learning was under the patronage of the Estes and Lucretia Borgia.

These very conditions brought many of the *literati* to Rome even during the Pontificates of Alexander VI and Julius II. For in Rome it was not merely the Pope who received and encouraged them, but also the Cardinals and wealthy members of Roman society.[5] However, during the reign of Leo, the poets, writers and scholars received more than an ordinary welcome. "On all sides literary men flocked to the Eternal City as to their mother country, foster-mother and patron," so wrote Cardinal Riorio in 1515, repeating almost the dictum of Vespasiano a half century previous.[6] The native city of the Medici was naturally well represented among the newcomers. Rome again became the center of the cultural world and the age of Leo became the golden age of the Italian literature, "chiefly because he attracted the best wits to Rome and received the flatteries of men, whose works survived them."[7] It seems that Erasmus himself could never forget the impressions created by "the radiant city, (with its) freedom of discourse, its light, its libraries, its honeyed converse of most learned scholars, its large style of life, and all those works of art that made Rome the theatre of nations."[8]

Among the many savants that made their appearance in Rome during the Leonine days, none enjoyed a greater fame than the two apostolic secretaries, Pietro Bembo

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5 Cf. Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 401.

6 It is maintained that there were at least two thousand dependents in Leo's Court. Cf. Cambridge Modern History.

7 Symonds, *op. et., loc. cit.*

8 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 408. Cf. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 144; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII, 285.

and Jacopo Sadoleto. To the former we have already alluded in the preceding chapter. Yet he apparently did not achieve literary distinction until the De'Medici period. While a master of pure Ciceronian style, he commanded also poetic abilities. The many letters that he composed during his secretaryship do credit to the beauty-loving age of Leo and were held up as worthy models to the employees of Paul III.[9] Sadoleto possessed a more varied talent. He was a "theologian, orator, poet, author, and diplomatist." His letters too, are written in a strong Ciceronian fashion and suffer naught by comparison with those of Bembo. Among his works we find Commentaries upon certain books of the Sacred Scriptures and a treatise dealing specifically with education.[10] Sadoleto defends the proper use of the classics and is a constant champion of the Christian Renaissance.

The finest epic of this period was written by a priest, Girolamo Vida, who was generally looked upon as the Pope's favorite, and went under the name of the "Christian Virgil." His poem was called "*Christiade*," or a description of the life of Christ. While regretting the indulgent nature of the Pope towards the Pagan Renaissance, we cannot but admire him for requesting a work of this kind. Vida has made a deserving contribution to Christian poetry. His lengthy "*Ars Poetica*" has been regarded by some as equal or even superior to Horace's work of the same title.[11] Less fortunate in fusing the bibilical traditions with secular antiquities was the reputed Pietro Sannazzaro, in his great epic "*De Partu Virginis.*" Without much reserve or reverence he mingles paganism and Christianity, "invokes the Angels and Muses together" so that even those most gracious to poetical license must at times feel grieved at the pro-

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[9] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 193; Symonds, *op. cit.*, 411 sqq.

[10] "*De Liberis instituendis.*" Most of the works of Sadoleto are of a theological, juridical or educational nature.

[11] Cf. Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 260; Baumgarten, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, IV, 595 sqq; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 200 sqq.

fane excesses to which he yields. Yet the opus, at which he labored twenty years, brought him literary fame and "exhibits the powers of the author and his command of the Latin language." [12] Leo, himself, was much pleased with him, and in a letter praises highly the talents and piety of the elated author.[13]

Battista Spagnolo Mantovano was a Christian humanist and dedicated to Leo his "*De Sacris Diebus*" and some less important productions. Baccoria Ferreri, in virtue of a special request from His Holiness, reformed the hymns of the Roman Breviary. Leo evidently was depressed by the lack of "true latinity and right meter" in many of the hymns, and consequently directed that these should either be improved or new hymns written. "It is undeniable," writes Pastor, "that Ferreri's hymns, belonging as they do to the best time of the Renaissance, contain much that is excellent; nevertheless, in spite of the blamelessness of their classical form, they seem to a sound taste to be weak imitations of the grand, powerful strophes of an earlier time." [14] Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni, though a representative of the pagan Revival, dedicated not a few poems to the Pope, and lauded his munificence to the *literati*. Marcantonio Casanova offered to Leo a composition entitled "Heroica."

The number of Latin poets received by Leo X is, of course, large. Tiraboschi mentions no less than eighty. For the purpose of this monograph it is not merely unnecessary but likewise impossible to speak of them all. The following can be dismissed with a mere mention. Francesco Molza, Girolamo Fracastoro, Marcello Palonio, Egidio Gallo, Battista Casali, Antonio Lelio, Bernardino Capella, Vincenzo Pimpinelli, Lorenzo Vallati, Giambattista Sanga, Lorenzo Grana, Scipione Lancellotti, Camillo Porcari, Petrus Aperbachius, Janus Hadelius Saxo, Caius

12 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, III, 328; Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, IV, 599. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 203 sq.
13 Roscoe, *op. cit.*, III, 325.
14 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 210.

Silvanus, Kaspar Ursinius Velius, Michael Humbelberg, Jano Vitale, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, Guido Postumo Silvestri, Hutten and Sustenius.

Italian poetry was much neglected during the Leonine era. Whereas the humanists had no positive aversion for it, Latin remained the chief medium of expression in rhetoric, eloquence and scientific studies. The chief representatives of the vernacular were Giovanni Rucellai and Giangiorgio Trissino. The former was a cousin of the Pope, and drew up a poem entitled "*The Bees.*" The latter is the author of "*Sofonisba,*" a poem in blank verse. Practically all the Italian poetry of this time lacks originality as well as inspiration. Nevertheless its cultivation was of far reaching consequence for subsequent ages.[15]

The Vatican Court life of the De'Medici Pope was much enriched by the clever verses and rhymes of a certain class of poets known as the "*Improvisatori.*" It was their business to give "expression in verse to the things of the moment." During the later period of the Renaissance many courts employed these much admired individuals. How much Leo enjoyed their ready sayings can be judged from the fact that he himself participated at times in their naive exercises and occasionally staged a contest between them.[16]

Antonio Tebaldeo occupied a prominent position in the ranks of the Improvisatori. The Pope loved his clever verses, and on one occasion gave him a present of 500 ducats, because of an epigram that he composed.[17] Ber-

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15 Cf. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 348; Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, IV, 601 sq. Simonde de Sismondi, *Historical view of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 326 sqq.

16 "Once, on the feast of the patron saints of the Medici, SS. Cosmas and Damian, Brandolini and Marone were thus measured against each other. The Pope, who acted as a severe critic of the subject, language and metre, this time adjudged the prize to Marone." Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 150.

17 "Under Leo X., Latin epigrams were like daily bread. For complimenting or for reviling the Pope, for punishing enemies and victims, named or unnamed, for real or imaginary subjects of wit, malice, grief, or contemplation, no form was held more suitable." Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 269.

nardo Accoliti, too, was much spoken of as a successful versifier. The fact that Andrea Marone accompanied his verses on a violin made him doubly dear to Leo. The blind Raffaello Brandolini, who was styled "the apple of the Pope's eye" was given an apartment in the Vatican.

Closely related to the Improvisatori were the professional jesters and buffoons whom Leo employed in rich numbers. They furnished the amusements for banquets and festive occasions. The Pope, who himself, was a master at ridicule and caricature, seems to have derived an uncommon delight from their foolish prattle and oft-times commonplace jokes. At times he could not refrain from active participation in the merriment, but would inspire the situations by treating them "with deliberate scorn, as parasites, setting before them (at public feasts) monkeys and crows in the place of savoury meats."[18] For the incongruous delight which the learned Medici Pope took in these coarse celebrations we have no better explanation than that he was "essentially a child of his age."[19]

Perhaps the most famous of the jesters was Fra Mariano. He won his popularity not merely by his undignified buffoonery, but also by his "total want of manners and incredible appetite, that caused merriment to his master and the court, even though the story of his having devoured forty eggs and twenty roast chickens at one meal is certainly an exaggeration."[20]

Music and theatrical performances also played an important part in the court life of this pleasure loving Pontiff. It was his wont every year, during the carnival season, to have special plays performed in the Vatican itself. The Papal palace in fact became a private theatre, where Cardinals, secretaries, civil and ecclesiastical officials, and

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18 Buckhardt, *op. cit.*, 157.

19 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 156; cf. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, VII, 168 sqq.

20 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 152.

prominent personages were gaily entertained. Music and dances, of which the Pope was very fond, generally found a prominent place in the performances. But the happy life of the Italian people, their love for pleasure and festivities, with their newly cultivated tastes for the beautiful made a rapid development of histrionics all the more desirable.

In the first year of his reign Leo indorsed the erection of a sumptuous public theatre in S. Angelo, at a fabulous cost. In this theatre, both the old and new plays were to be staged for the entertainment and culture of the Roman people. The project unfortunately led to many sad abuses, through the lack of proper precautions on the part of the lenient Pontiff himself. His complaisant nature permitted not merely the plays of Plautus, but even such objectionable presentations as the "*Calandria*" of Bibbiena and the "*Suppositi*" of Ariosto.[21]

Abstracting, however, from these incongruities, Leo's patronage of the theatre was of supreme significance for the development of the Italian Drama. Much to the regret of the orthodox latinists, by the year 1520 the "victory of the mother-tongue in tragedy and comedy was won." The old plays of Plautus, Seneca, Terence, etc., were rapidly replaced by up-to-date productions, which, though teeming with imperfections, deserve a place in the world's literature since they are likely the "first written in prose and copied from real life." [22]

While Leo X showed such an unbounded interest in poetry, music and theatricals, he did not withhold his patronage from other spheres of educational endeavors. He, himself, was a beautiful prose-writer, possessing an ease and gracefulness of style that ranked with the best talents of his court. Besides he was an eloquent orator. Paris de Grassi, the Vatican Master of Ceremonies, re-

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[21] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 170 sqq.

[22] Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 242, 320; Symonds, *Italian Literature*, 108; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII, 340.

peatedly calls attention to the beautiful and ready language of the Pontiff.[23] Naturally, therefore, rhetoric and eloquence occupied an important position during his regime. Every important feast was celebrated by long and arduous speeches. In a decree of 1514 he expressed the desire that "every meeting of the Conservatori should be opened with a speech by a born Roman, about distinguished Roman Citizens of past ages."[24] The sermons in the Vatican Chapel were not to exceed fifteen minutes.[25]

The chief orators of the day were Tommaso Inghcrami and Camillo Porzio. Both were members of the Roman Academy. Battista Casoli, Lorenzo Grana, Blosio Palladio, Sadoleto, Egidio Canisio, Vincenzo Pimpinelli and Matteo Ercolano deserve mention. What their exact relations were to the Pope cannot be well established. Some, no doubt, were given opportunities of speaking in his august presence. Leo was generous in his praises and rewards of able speakers.[26]

The orators Celso Mellini and Christophe Langueil won for themselves a lasting fame through a misunderstanding which arose between them. Mellini accused the Frenchman of various crimes, among them the crime of high treason, gathered from certain public utterances that the latter had made against Rome. A trial ensued in which the whole educated world took an interest. The Pope, with his Cardinals, and many ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries came to the Capitol for the trial, "anxious to enjoy the spectacle of a great literary contest." Langueil very prudently failed to put in his appearance. Nevertheless, Mellini delivered his philippic with much unction, so that not a little resentment was stirred up against his

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23 "*Pontifex elegantissime atque argutissime respondit sic, ut omnes laudare non cessent eumdem, qui ita in omnibus suis responsionibus se eleganter habuit. . . .*" Cf. Pastor, VII, 73, note.

24 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 222.

25 *Paris de Grassi*, apud Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, V, 315.

26 For Leo's liberality towards the *literati* see Fabronius, *Leonis X. P. M. Vita*, 183, 194, 198, 301.

opponent. While nothing came of the contest, the incident opens another little vista for the better understanding of the Leonine days.[27]

It was due, no doubt, to the new discoveries and the many important events of this period, that the prose writers of the De Medici days bend their efforts so notably to historical productions. While Leo cannot claim the credit of having inspired by his generous patronage, all the histories that were written, he was deeply conscious of the importance of the study. "Considering how necessary it was for men destined to high public offices to become cognizant of the history of their own country, he entrusted the learned Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro with the mission of lecturing for one hour in the Capitol every day, when the city magistrates met there for business; he had a salary of three hundred scudi a year." [28]

Niccolo Machiavelli owed perhaps little more to the Pope than his life, which was graciously spared when it was discovered that he had been involved in the conspiracy against the Medici Family. His works on "*The Art of War*" and "*The Discourses on the Roman History of Livy*" while belonging to Leo's reign, were likely written independently of Pontifical influence.[29] The historian Francesco Guicciardini, no less than Machiavelli was a former adversary of the Medici. His conversion to Leo was brought about by considerations other than love for Pope or Church.[30] The Pontiff appreciated, however his talents and made him a consistorial advocate, whereas Clement VII placed him in charge of the papal troops. The history which immortalized the fame of Guicciardini appeared only many years after Leo's death. It is a most significant work. "If all the writings

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27 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 228 sqq; Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 330 sqq.

28 Lanciani, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, 140.

29 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 236, sqq. Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, II, 341, sqq.

30 Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 236.

of his contemporaries had perished, his work alone would have exhibited a perfect picture of the age and must ever be regarded as a mine from which future historians must derive their richest material."[31]

In the case of the great history of Paolo Giovio we have a more direct patronage and encouragement of the Supreme Pontiff. Giovio was first of all drawn to Rome by Leo's generosity to literary men. As early as 1516 a portion of the history was finished and read by the Pope to the Cardinals. His Holiness seemed much pleased with the work, and thought that no one since the days of Livy had written with such fluency and elegance.[32] He immediately proceeded to elevate the author to a chair in the Roman University, and conferred upon him other marks of appreciation. The relations between the house of Medici and the historians Francesco Vettori and Bartolomeo Cerretani remained most intimate.

Along with the study of history developed a new interest in the science of antiquity, of which Latino Giovenale Mannetti remained the chief representative. Leo favored him with several benefices. Francesco Alberti, with the co-operation of Jacopo Mazocchi issued "the first collection of Roman topographical inscriptions" and thereby inaugurated a new era in Roman Epigraphy.[33] The learned Andrea Fluvio made a special study of Roman antiquities and recorded them in a poem dedicated to the Pope. This poem was later, at the suggestion of Leo himself, changed to prose, and appeared as a new work during the reign of Clement VII. The Pontiff also sponsored a project conceived by Raphael Fluvio, Mario Fabei Clavo and Baldassare Castiglione, of making a great "archaelogical plan of Rome with explanatory texts" based upon the old remains, the excavations and

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31 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, IV, 245.

32 Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VII, 2, 260. At present the history of Giovio shares no longer the approval that contemporaries so profusely bestowed upon it. Cf. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, IV, 253, Pastor, VIII, 240.

33 Gregorovius, VIII, 306 n.

historical records. The idea was received with enthusiasm and Celio Calcagnini, a contemporary, tells us that all the Romans, including the Pope, were so taken up with the plan that they regarded the originator of it as a messenger from on High, sent to bring back to Rome her former splendor.[34]

Even the hieroglyphics of Egypt were now studied. Pierio Valeriano produced a work on them which was well received by the Pope.[35]

The studies of Philosophy and Theology, while not neglected during the reign of the Medici Pope, did not receive their due share of attention.[36] Pope Leo was, by the tradition of his family, a Platonist. To his father and his grandfather belongs the credit of having founded the Platonic Academy at Florence. Platonic philosophy had by the end of the Fifteenth Century gained a triumph over the Aristotelian views, owing chiefly to the activities of Medici, Bessarion and the jurist Marsilio Ricinio.[37] However, as these eminent scholars passed from the scene of action, Aristotelianism again ascended. Great zeal was shown by a few savants in translating the works of Aristotle, explaining and defending his doctrine. The original text was studied in order to escape the subtle adulterations of the Arabian commentators. The Universities of Padua and Bologna especially gained a reputation as defenders of the resurrected system. Two schools of Aristotelian philosophy arose, the Alexandrians and the Averroists. The former maintained that philosophy could not demonstrate the individuality and immortality of the soul; to which the latter added that the whole human race had but one soul. A conflict with the champions of Christian orthodoxy was inevitable. Leo in the eight session of the Fifth Lateran Council issued a dogmatic definition "defending the immortality

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[34] Cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 310 sq.
[35] Cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 307; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 243.
[36] For more details see Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 341.
[37] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 44 sqq. (ed. 1897).

and individuality of the soul." The doctrine that "what was true in philosophy might be false in faith, and vice versa," to which the embarrassed philosophers took refuge, was likewise rejected. Professors of the various universities were instructed by this same Council to defend to the best of their ability the Catholic doctrine.

The instructions of the Council were, however, practically ignored by a certain Pietro Pomponazzi, a professor of Aristotelian philosophy at Bologna. In 1516 appeared a thesis from his pen defending the mortality of the soul and again announcing the proposition that philosophy could not prove the soul to be anything but mortal. After the book had been burnt publicly in Venice and condemned as heretical, Pomponazzi was finally called to Rome, over the protestations of Bibbiena and Giulio de Medici. He was ordered to recant. Whether he did so, is uncertain, but there remains little doubt, that he never changed his views. He died in 1525 by way of suicide through starvation.

The fact should not be passed over lightly that the above decision served also as a breakwater against the destructive invasions that the liberal humanism was making in the ranks of the clergy. From henceforth priests, who desired to follow the humanistic curriculum were directed to spend five years in the pursuit of Theology or Canon Law, to serve as an antidote against the pernicious influences so frequently associated with the intense study of the classics and pagan philosophy. Professors of the Universities were cautioned to devote special attention to apologetic Theology.[38]

The views of Pomponazzi were attacked by the philosopher Agostino Nifo, whom Leo called from Padua to the Roman University. Nifo at one time had been a disciple of Averroes, defending the common soul theory, but was set aright by the disquisitions of the learned theologians of his day. His companion Gianfrancesco Pico della

38 Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 390.

Mirandola was a Platonist and likewise a special friend of the Supreme Pontiff. Pico wrote a number of works which "embrace almost every department of literature and of science, and every mode of composition, poetry, theology, antiquities, natural philosophy, moral and ascetics; letters, orations, translations from the Greek and Latin essays."[39] He dedicated a work of four books to the Pope, entitled, "*De Amore Divino.*"[40]

Mention should likewise be made of the efforts of Egidio Canisio of Viterbo who devoted himself to a study of the "*Philosophy of History,*" both sacred and profane. He was a good student of Oriental languages as well as a philosopher and theologian.[41]

The chief exponent of Theology during Leo's Pontificate was Cardinal Cajetan. A learned treatise on the "*Authority of the Pope and Councils,*" written under Julius II, had attracted much attention. Now, followed a commentary on the Summa of St. Thomas, which is generally regarded as his best work. Cajetan was a staunch defender of the teachings of the Church against the doctrines of Luther.

The rise of Protestantism in the North gave birth to many essays and tracts on the chief dogmas of the Church. The Friars of St. Dominic were especially zealous. We need mention only Silvestro Prierias, the master of the Sacred Places; Ambrogio Catarino, Tommaso Rhadino, both professors at the Roman University; Christofero Marcello and the Augustinian Ambrogio Fiandino. Alberto Pio di Carpi was also skilled in theology and took the field against Erasmus, but it was not until the insurrection against the Papacy grew more threatening that Theology actually flourished.[42]

Since the days of Nicholas V and the passing away

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[39] Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, IV, 136 sq.
[40] Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 400.
[41] Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 250 sq.
[42] Cf. Pastor, VII, 363, 392, VIII, 252; Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 342.

of the first generation of humanists, the study of Greek had been much neglected. Although there were Greek scholars in Rome and other centers of learning in Europe, it cannot be gainsaid that the opportunities for prosecuting Hellenic Literature were not comparable to the enthusiasm shown for the advancement of Latin and Italian. Leo conscious of the beauties of the Greek language and the dependence of Italy upon the culture of the South devised means whereby this defect might be supplied. Through his secretary, Sadoleto, he invited to Rome the widely known Giano Lascaris and his pupil Marcus Massurus, and a number of other native sons of Hellas. A short extract from the letter of Leo cannot prove uninteresting. "Having a most earnest desire to promote the study of the Greek tongue, and of Grecian literature, which are now almost extinct, and to encourage the liberal arts as far as lies in my power, and being well convinced of your great learning and singular judgment, I request that you will take the trouble of inviting from Greece ten young men, or as many more as you may think proper, of good education and virtuous dispositions; who may compose a seminary of liberal studies, and from whom the Italians may derive the proper use and knowledge of the Greek tongue. On this subject you will be more fully instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues and learning have deservedly rendered him dear to me. I have a confidence also, that from the respect and kindness which you have already shown me, you will apply with the utmost diligence to effect what may seem to you to be necessary, for accomplishing the purposes which I have in view." [43]

Leo now opened a Greek college in the house of the poet Angelo Colocci, and entrusted the management to Lascaris, to whom he also assigned a liberal pension and bestowed various benefices. Massurus was also employed and favored by the Pope. At this very time he finished

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[43] This is a letter of Leo to Marcus Musurus, found in the Epistles of Bembo, and translated by Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 291.

his first edition of the works of Plato. It was printed by Aldus and dedicated to His Holiness. With the approbation of Leo, a printing press was erected in the new college to multiply the Greek books. Lascaris corrected the proof sheets. In 1517 appeared the Greek Scholia on Homer's Poems and a year later the Scholia on Sophocles, together with a new edition of Porphyry. A copyright was granted to the Academy, which threatened with excummunication any contraventions.[44]

The example of the Pope in resuscitating Greek study was followed by the wealthy Roman merchant Agostino Chigi, who not only employed Greek scholars, but also sponsored the printing of Greek books.[45] A certain Vario Avorino, a pupil of Politiano, and a former instructor of the Pope, published a "collection of Grammatical tracts in the Greek language, selected with incredible labor from the remains of thirty-four ancient grammarians, whose names are prefixed to the work."[46] He was assisted by other scholars. In 1517 appeared a translation of famous Greek apothegms, collected by Strobeus. But the best work of Varino is his Greek Lexicon, which was completed during Leo's reign but not published until the time of Adrian VI.[47] In acknowledgment of his work he was made a bishop and vice-governor of Nocera.

The reputed teacher, Fra Urbano Valeriano, assisted chiefly in proofreading at the Aldine Press at Venice. Leo tried to reward him with a benefice, but the humble scholar declined.[48]

A second Academy for the study of Greek was founded by Pope Leo at Florence and placed in charge of Arsenio Apostolios.

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[44] Cf. Fabronius, *Leonis X. P. M. Vita*, 68; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 107; Roscoe, II, 307; Reumont, III, 2, 352.

[45] For further particulars see Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, II, 311 sq.

[46] Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 314 sq.

[47] Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 262; Reumont, III, 2, 353.

[48] Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 329 sqq.

The Fifth Lateran Council, which met during the Pontificate of Leo, was likely responsible for the rise of new interest in the Oriental Languages. Many of the Eastern dignitaries naturally found their way to Rome. Among them was the learned linguist, Teseo Ambrogio, of whom it is said that he knew as many as eighteen languages, and many of them perfectly.[49] To him was assigned the task of translating into Latin the liturgy of the Oriental Church. He also taught Chaldaic and Syriac in the University of Bologna. In 1539 appeared his work: "*Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas.*" [50]

Another Oriental scholar, Agostino Giustiniani, undertook the translation of the Scriptures into four different languages. He finished only the Psalter, which appeared in 1516. Sante Pagnini at the same time translated the Bible from the original Hebrew, which pleased the Pope so much that he immediately "ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave instructions that material should be provided for printing it." [51] A certain Agacio Giudacerio was appointed the instructor in Hebrew at the Roman University. In this position he wrote a Hebrew Grammar which he dedicated to the Pontiff.[52] It was during Leo's reign that the first printed Ethiopian book made its appearance. It was the Psalter of the Bible.

With such an assemblage of learned men from all parts of the world at Rome, it is but natural that the Roman Academy, which by this time had assumed the nature of a literary sodality, should flourish once more. Many of the celebrities of the Pontifical court boasted of belonging to its members. "It held its meetings in the Circus Maximus or on the Quirinal, or near the temple of Her-

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49 Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 338.

50 Fabronius, *op. cit.*, 69; Roscoe, II, 339 footnote.

51 Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 341.

52 Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 418.

cules by the bank of the Tiber, or in the suburban Park of some Maecenas of the day, when a simple repast, seasoned with the salt of wit, would be followed by the delivery of Latin speeches and the recitation of Latin poems."

CHAPTER XV.

Pope Leo X. The Library and Universities.

Having considered the concern of Pope Leo X. in the matter of printing and multiplying books, we might readily divine his solicitude regarding the Vatican Library. While he was still a Cardinal he diligently collected manuscripts and made many valuable contributions to the Medici library in Florence. In 1508 he succeeded in buying back from the monks of San Marco this library, which, as is well-known, had fallen into the hands of strangers at the time of the expulsion of the Medici family from Florence in 1494.[1] He had it transferred to his private palace at S. Eustachio, where learned men were always welcome to any book that they might desire. The above mentioned Vario Avorino was in charge. Even after his elevation, this private library remained separate from the Vaticana, and eventually, upon the death of the Pope, went back to Florence.[2]

For the extension of the Vatican Library Leo had recourse to the same tactics that had proven so successful with his predecessor Nicholas V. Every country was visited by his industrious agents. In fact, the Pope almost made it a matter of conscience to bring to Rome as many manuscripts and copies of books as possible, "in order that Latin might flourish."[3] His emissaries frequently bore special letters from His Holiness, authorizing their work and courting the favor of civil and ecclesiastical princes. Johannes Heitmers of Liege, for example, was

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1 On the Medici Library see Fabronius, *Leonis X. P. M. Vita*, 265; Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, II, 318.

2 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XVIe Siecle*, 22.

3 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 23; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 195. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII, 291.

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supplied with such a document, to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Gothland. In one of these letters the Pope betrays a zeal worthy of special notice. "From the beginning of our Pontificate we have, by the help of God and for His honor and glory, spared neither pains nor money to discover valuable treasures of ancient literature for the profit as well as the honour of virtuous and especially learned men."[4] Agostino Beazzano was dispatched to Venice with credentials to the Doge, asking his assistance in the search for manuscripts of Greek authors.[5] The travels of Francesco de Rossi of Ravenna to the Orient were rewarded by a copy in Arabic of "*The Mystic Philosophy of Aristotle.*" He had it translated into Latin and presented it to his patron. Angelo Arcumboldi and Fausto Sabeo were sent on similar missions.[6]

It is true, however, that the agents of Leo were not nearly as successful in unearthing literary treasures as the delegates of Nicholas V had been. But this very probably for reasons other than lack of enthusiasm either on their part or on the part of the Pope. The most important discovery was a manuscript of the first six books of the Annals of Tacitus. This manuscript was found by the above named Angelo Arcumboldi, in the monastery of Corvey in Westphalia, and brought to Rome in 1508, where, Leo, then still a Cardinal, obtained it. It was given to print in 1515. The Pope, elated over the discovery, entertained new hopes of finding a perfect copy of the historical works of Livy, which had been the great *desideratum* ever since the days of Nicholas. Heitmers was offered a big reward should he succeed in obtaining it. All successful agents, in fact, could rest confident of the Pontiff's generosity. He publicly advertised rewards to all such as should send him rare manuscripts.[7]

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4 Brief of Nov. 26, 1517, apud Muentz, *op. cit.*, 34-35, translated in Pastor, VIII, 267.

5 Cf. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, III, 241 sqq, IV, 196. Fabronius, *op. cit.*, 201.

6 Roscoe, II, 341; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom,* VIII, 292; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 266.

7 Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* VIII, 269.

The devotion of Leo to books, and especially to the ancient Classics appears still more striking when we observe some of the means which he employed to obtain them. Besides demanding free access to the libraries, his agents were instructed to appropriate such rare copies as could not be bought or borrowed. The good of scholarship, according to the Pontiff's conscience, demanded or at least sanctioned this procedure. Nor did he seek to hide or palliate the fact. For a right understanding of his attitude we cannot well pass over a note written by him to the Abbot of Corvey and intrusted to Heitmers, pertaining to the copy of Tacitus that had been obtained surreptitiously. "We have sent a copy of the revised and printed books in a beautiful binding to the Abbot and his monks, that they may place it in their library as a substitute for the one taken from it. But in order that they may understand that this purloining has done them far more good than harm, we have granted them for their Church a plenary indulgence."[8]

Nevertheless, as we have stated, the emissaries of Leo met with much disappointment. The search at Melk proved in vain, though some manuscripts were obtained from the monastery of Monte-Cassino.[9] The printers, who were rapidly establishing themselves in all parts of Europe offered strong competition to Leo and his agents. To this must be added the fact that the number of undiscovered works was naturally daily decreasing. Quite different circumstances prevailed during the early period of the Revival. Finally, the last years of Leo's care-free reign, due to his former prodigality, were spent in rigid economy. Hence it is that the additions made to the Vaticana by this learned Pope are not as large as might be expected. Under Sixtus IV the total number of books was 3650. An inventory taken under Leo men-

8 Pastor, VIII, 268.
9 Pastor, VIII, 269.

tions no more than 4070, or an increase of about 400 volumes.[10]

Tommaso Inghirami retained his post as head librarian. He was succeeded by Filippo Beroaldo, who in turn relinquished his place in favor of the Dominican Acciaiuoli. Death soon overtook this famous scholar, and Aleander was placed in charge until the year 1538.[11] As custodians of the Library, Leo retained the appointees of Julius II.

In the administration of the library Leo exercised more precautions than had been the custom of his predecessors. The loss of valuable manuscripts and books was no uncommon occurrence and made new measures necessary.[12] Only on rare occasions did he allow books to leave the library or the city. Cardinal Ximenes could, therefore, regard it a special concession when he obtained from Rome the necessary Greek manuscripts to complete his "*Complutensian Polyglot.*"

It can hardly be denied that in his zeal for the discovery and multiplication of books, and especially the ancient classics, the Pope at times overstepped the bounds of prudence. Apparently he did not fully realize the possible dangers involved in the indiscriminate use and multiplication of the ancients. Yet when we take into account the virtues of his private life, we cannot for a moment doubt the honesty of his intentions. We have a gratifying declaration from his own lips that should not have been made in vain. "Since God called us to the high dignity of the Pontificate we have devoted ourselves to the Government and extension of the Church, and, among other objects, we have conceived it to be our duty to foster especially literature and the fine arts: for, from our earliest youth we have been thoroughly convinced that, next to the knowledge and true worship of the

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10 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 43; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 271.

11 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 28.

12 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 39 sqq.

Creator, nothing is better or more useful for mankind than such studies, which are not only an adornment and a standard of human life, but are also of service in every circumstance; in misfortune they console us, in prosperity they confer joy and honour, and without them man would be robbed of all social grace and culture. The security and the extension of these studies seem to demand two conditions: on the one hand, they require a sufficient number of learned and scholarly men, and, on the other, an unlimited supply of first-rate books. With regard to the first, we hope, through God's help, to have already made it evident that it is our warmest desire and firm determination to honour and reward their deserts, which has indeed ever been our greatest joy. As regards the acquisition of books, we give God thanks that in the present instance we have a further opportunity of rendering useful service to our fellowmen."[13]

But in no instance do we find a more striking proof of Pope Leo's devotion to learning than in the solicitude that he showed for the institutions of learning and especially for the Roman University, which, as we have indicated before, was on the point of ruin. Shortly after his coronation appeared the Bull *"Dum Suavissimos"* wherein the Pope contemplates the needed reforms and confirms the enactments of his predecessors. The main points of this bull may be stated as follows: 1. All the principal branches should have three professors; 2. The formal conversations with the students; 3. A professor who, without sufficient excuse, failed to conduct his class, should be fined heavily; 4. Professors of law should not practice before the courts; 5. The janitor should keep a record of the lectures omitted and delivered; 6. All pro-

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13 This letter was written by Sadoleto. The translation is found in Pastor, VIII, 269 sq.

fessors should be subject to an income tax of three per cent.[14]

The professorial chairs were open not merely to native Romans, but to all illustrious scholars regardless of nationality. In consequence the teaching staff grew to imposing proportions. As early as 1514, there were no less than 88 members.[15] Of these, eleven taught Canon Law; twenty, Civil Law; fifteen, Medicine; five, Philosophy; four, Theology; eight, Rhetoric; three, Greek; two, Mathematics; one, Astrology, and one, Botany, likely the first chair for the study of plant life established in Italy.[16]

Among these there naturally were men of the widest reputation for scholarship,[17] and probity of life.[18] Giampaolo Parisio taught Rhetoric,[19] having as his co-laborers in the humanistic department, Inghcrami, Basilio Calcondila, Antonio Fabro, Raphael Brandolini, Filippo Beroaldo and Pietro Sabino. A special chair for the study of Hebrew was under the direction of Agacio

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14 Cf. Bull, *"Dum Suavissimos"* of Nov. 4, 1513, apud Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta*, no. 5265. *"Ut urbs Roma ita in re litteraria sicut et in caeteris rebus totius orbis caput esset."* Bull of Sept. 20, 1514, cf. Audin, *Histoire de Leon X*, II, 61.

15 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, II, 33 sq., 38 sq. and Appendix II.

16 Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII, 296.

17 *Leo cunctos rationis, naturae, morum, humani divinique juris, ac supremae illius scientiae, quam Theologiam vocant, peritissimos viros, accersit, probat, honestissimisque stipendiis refocillat. Ipsam quoque juventutis aetatem, ac linguam sapientissime informari, doctissimeque instruendam curat. Accersivit enim nuperrime acutissimos Philosophos, gravissimos Jurisconsultos, valentissimos e cunctis Italiae Galliaeque Gymnasiis Medicos."* Raffael Brandolini, apud Renazzi, *op. cit.*, II, 33.

18 It is maintained that Leo chose only such men for professors as enjoyed a reputation for their Christian ideals. *"Tous les professeurs choisis par Leon X etaient non-seulement des savants distingues, mais des hommes de vie exemplaire, etc."* Audin, *Histoire de Leon X*, II, 65.

19 The letter of the Pope to Parisio, inviting him to Rome is interesting. *". . . Cupientes ut Romanum Gymnasium optimis Doctoribus abundet, quo ii, qui se bonis artibus dediderunt ea ex re percipere fructus uberiores possint; de tua in studiis mitioribus doctrina certiores facti, ad ea docenda, profitendaque Romae te publice eligimus, statuimusque, ut singulis annis ducentos aureos haberes. Quamobrem hortamur te, ut ad Urben quamprimum te conferas, libenti enim, et paterno animo te videbimus."* Apud Renazzi, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

Guidacerio, already mentioned. Agostino Nifo taught Philosophy, Christofero Aretino, Medicine and Girolamo Botticella, Law.[20]

With this professorial staff, Leo hoped to make the Roman University the most celebrated institution of learning in Europe. "Having lately" he writes in one of his letters, "been called by divine Providence to the office of supreme pontiff, and having restored to our beloved subjects their rights, we have, among other things regranted to the Roman university those revenues which had for many years been perverted to other purposes. And to the end that the city of Rome may assume that superiority over the rest of the world in literary studies which she already enjoys in other respects, we have, from different parts, obtained the assistance of men acquainted with every branch of learning, whom we have appointed professors; on which account even in the first year of our pontificate, such numbers of students have resorted to this place that the university of Rome is likely soon to be held in higher estimation than any other in Italy."[21]

The stipends which the professors received were in perfect harmony with the vaunted liberality of the Medici. In the year 1514 the combined salaries reached the sum of 14,490 gold florins. "The highest, 530 and 500 gold florins, were paid to the doctors of medicine, Arcangelo of Siena and Scipione de Lancelloti. The famous Paolo Giovio received, as Professor of Ethics, 130; the jurist, Mario Salomoni, 150; the philosopher, Agostino Nifo, 300; the master of perspective, Luca Paciolo di Borgo San Sepolcro, a Minorite, 120 gold florins. Of the humanists, Inghirami and the Greek professors each received 300 gold florins at the utmost; Beroaldo and Raf-

20 Cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 295, Audin, *op. cit.*, II, 67.

21 Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VII, 1, 111, translated in Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 286.

faello Brandolini Pippi had 250, Parisio, 200; Camillo Porzio, 150 gold florins." [22]

Leo, to secure the success of the University, held out special inducements to prospective students. He restored to them their time-honored privileges and exemptions. Lectures were conducted both evenings and mornings so as to meet the conveniences of the scholars, "lest there be eventually more professors than students." [23] A new chapel was erected in which exercises of both religious and academic nature were conducted. However, it remained the Pontiff's desire that the religious celebrations and feasts should never interfere with the scholastic functions.[24]

Notwithstanding all his sacrifices and zeal, the academic life of the Roman University never reached that degree of perfection which the unsuspecting Pope had anticipated. Shortly after its restitution some of the more prominent professors passed away.[25] Others left for Pisa and different universities of Europe, where the question of professorial remuneration had a better history. The monetary distress which darkened the last years of Leo's pontificate had a special meaning for the University. The Pope found it impossible to meet the obligations which in the early years of his reign he had so auspiciously and gladly assumed. "There is a crowd of professors," wrote a certain teacher of law, "who have been appointed without selection; the salaries are not sufficient to live upon and worst of all, are paid so irregularly that it costs more trouble to raise the money

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[22] Apud Renazzi, *op. cit.*, II, 236 sq., translated in Pastor, VIII, 274. Cf. Also Audin, *op. cit.*, II, 64.

[23] *Der Grund davon sei dass die von Eugen gewaehrten Privilegien nicht beobachtet wurden, und die Professoren sich mit andere Geschaefte menghen, und deshalb ihre Vorlesungen unterliessen.*" Denifle, *Die Entstehung d. Universitaeten des Mittelalters bis* 1400, 315.

[24] Roscoe, *op. cit.*, II, 285; Pastor, VIII, 272.

[25] Like Botticella, Caldondila, Inghirami and Beroaldo.

than to give a whole course of instruction."[26] The decline and final fall of the University belong rather to Pontificate of Leo X than to his successor.

The solicitude which Leo showed for the prominent Universities of Europe was hardly in accord with his love for the one at Rome. For a correct estimate of this fact it must be borne in mind that at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century most of the larger seats of learning were well established and no longer as dependent upon Papal protection as they had formerly been. With the rapid spread of learning the civil powers and the nations themselves grew more devoted to their schools, thus absolving the supreme ecclesiastical authority from much detailed sponsorship. Nevertheless, there are repeated instances where Leo positively favored certain institutions.

On the petition of the Archbishop of Toledo he granted the University of Alcala the power to confer degrees in Medicine, with the express request that those who successfully followed the prescribed course, should be given this degree.[27] The Archbishop of Seville obtained permission to found the College of S. Thomas in his Episcopal city, for the instruction of the Dominican Friars.[28] Leo granted the University of Vienna certain privileges and favors, among them the exemption from episcopal authority.[29] He approved the founding of the Colleges of "San Millan" and "Santa Maria y Todos los Santos."[30] The University of Louvain received the *"privilegium nominationum"* and experienced support in its financial

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26 Taken from Gnoli, *Secolo di Leone X*, II, 637, translated in Pastor, VIII, 275. Cf. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 355. Another reason why the University declined, was "that many secured chairs by favour and not by merit, in consequence of the widespread encroachments of patronage; others sought to oust rivals from their chairs by intrigue." Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 274.

27 Cf. Bull of Nov. 3, 1514, apud La Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades en Espana*, II, 578 sqq.

28 Bull of Nov. 26, 1516, apud La Fuente, *op. cit.*, II, 100.

29 Bull of July 12, 1513 and June 1, 1517; cf. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universitaet zu Wien*, II, 323, 327, 328.

30 Cf. La Fuente, *op. cit.*, II, 117, 118.

program by the confirmation and extension of the decree of Sixtus IV.[31] The University of Frankfurt also received aid in its financial distress.[32] Finally Leo intervened in the administrative affairs of the University of Bonn.[33]

With these data in mind there should be little difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the significance of Pope Leo X in the revival of learning and the promotion of scholarship during the early Sixteenth Century. No Pope, including even the illustrious Nicholas V had succeeded in surrounding himself with such an array of musicians, poets, actors, prose writers, linguists, philosophers and students of the sciences as he. No one had attracted so many scholars to the Eternal City as this son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Under him the University of Rome and other institutions of learning flourished. Books and manuscripts were preserved and multiplied. The study of Greek and Oriental languages was again taken up.

However, on closer scrutiny it will become clear, that, "the splendor of the Leonine age, so often and so much belauded, is in many respects more apparent than real." The minds of men, even to our own times, have been dazzled only too frequently by the encomiums and enraptured laudations bestowed upon this Maecenas by his numerous protégés. A true understanding of Leo's accomplishments in the domain of our interests can be obtained by close study of actual facts, rather than by too implicit confidence in the reports of his contemporaries. It will at once appear that "the opening years of his pontificate were of great promise, and seemed to announce a fresh impetus, or, to speak more exactly, the successful continuation of what had long since begun."[34] The rush of the scholars to Rome, the new interest in the

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[31] *Privilegia Academiae Lovaniensi*, 92-104; Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta*, nos. 4557, 4558.

[32] Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta*, no. 6086.

[33] Hergenroether, *Leonis X Regesta*, no. 5466.

[34] Kraus, *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 11 sqq.

study of Greek and Hebrew, the reformation of the University, the erection of the printing presses, are activities chiefly belonging to the first years of the Pope's reign. These same years witnessed, too, his "wide liberality, his unfeigned enthusiasm for the cultivation of genius, his unprejudiced taste for all that beautifies humanity and his sympathy for all the culture of the time."[35] But there can be little doubt that during the later period of Leo's administration, when religious strife beyond the Alps was assuming more threatening proportions from day to day, and when poverty placed a decided restriction upon his prodigality, the decline of the Renaissance had already set in.

Leo, in spite of his interest in cultural and educational affairs, can, therefore, hardly be called a successful leader of his age. His very position and also his liberal disposition made him naturally the central figure of the poets, writers, musicians and scholars, but he did not assume the direct leadership of the movement so characteristic of Nicholas V.[36] Nor was his estimate of the abilities of his clientele too unerring.[37] Frequently he rewarded his buffoons and jesters with greater lavishness than the deserving poets and writers. And hence it is that "serious and respectable men left him and a pack of *'pazzi, buffoni e simil sorta di piacevoli'* remained in the Pope's audience chambers, with whom the Pope himself, gamed and jested day after day, *'cum risu et hilari-*

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35 Kraus, *l. c.*

36 *"Er hat dieselbe nicht geleitet: er ist von ihr fortgezogen worden. Aber seine Stellung einerseits, andrerseits die an Enthusiasmus grenzende Waerme womit er die Tendenzen dieser Zeit erfasste und sich aneignete, haben ihn gewissermaassen als Fuehrer erscheinen lassen, wo der wahre Grund der Erscheinungen weit in der Vergangenheit lag. Dies ist es was die eigentliche Bedeutung Leos X. fuer die geistige Bildung und Thaetigkeit seines Jahrhunderts bestimmt."* Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 335.

37 "Like most of his contemporaries, he overvalued in a remarkable way the poets of that day, whose compositions were as often as not distinguished only by elegance of style. In his quick enthusiasm he was much too easily satisfied. It was sufficient for him if a letter, a speech, or a poem was gracefully turned; he very often overlooked the contents for the form." Pastor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 278.

tate.'"[38] This explains, too, why the Leonine age is not more fruitful in works of real merit.

Leo's claim to a position in the history of education rests, therefore, chiefly upon the enthusiasm and interest that his happy reign created in learning and scholarship. We deem the summation of the scholarly Pastor very appropriate. "Leo's importance is limited to this, that he was before all else a stimulating force; in this respect he undoubtedly rendered manifold services. We must not depreciate the general impulse which he gave to artistic as also to literary and scientific life. It was his work to create in Rome an intellectual atmosphere, a '*milieu*' without which even Raphael would not have reached such ripe maturity. To him also it was due, to a great extent, that humanism spread its influence over such an appreciably large portion of Europe. This was of no small importance in the history of the development of Western civilization; the Renaissance literature of Italy pointed out the way to the Romance nations, in which, by a felicitous combination of antique and national elements, they should produce works of classical perfection. Not less important was the advance made in the knowledge and appreciation of antiquity. All this was more or less affected by the favour and encouragement given by Leo X to the Renaissance of literature. Therefore, undoubtedly, a certain share in the renown of the Papacy, as one of the foremost educators of the world, belongs to the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent."[39]

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[38] Kraus, *l. c.*

[39] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VIII, 279 sq. "In order not to underrate Leo's influence on humanism we must guard against being misled by the toy-work that was mixed up with it, and must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the apparent irony with which he himself sometimes treated these matters. . . . Whatever influence in Europe the Italian humanists have had since 1520 depends in some way or other on the impulse which was given by Leo." Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 224. Cf. also Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, IV, 637.

CHAPTER XVI

Pope Adrian VI (1522)

The last years of Leo X's reign, witnessed as we have noted, the beginning of the decline of the Renaissance. This decline, unlike the rise of humanism, was rather precipitous. New problems engaged the minds of men, and especially that of the Supreme Pontiff, to whom the growing defection of so many of his spiritual children was a most distressing experience.

Pope Adrian VI, the newly-elected Pontiff, was a man of unimpeachable life. "It is only thy blameless life that has raised thee to the loftiest rank on earth," wrote the Spanish humanist, Joannes Vives. Though humble in origin he had received the best of education from the Brethren of the Common Life, and later at the University of Louvain. After graduation he devoted himself to teaching, and was eventually chosen Rector of this University.[1]

But, notwithstanding his scholastic propensities, Adrian, as Pontiff, contributed exceedingly little to the advancement of learning. The circumstances of the times conspired, however, against extensive effort in this direction. Rome itself received the election of the Dutch Pope with the greatest misgiving and display of displeasure.[2] Leo's prodigal administration had left the Vatican treas-

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1 For details of Adrian's life see Lepitre, *Adrien VI*, 8 sqq. Also Hoefler, *Papst Adrian VI.*

2 In his characteristic way the historian of the Eternal City deftly writes: "*Ganz Rom erhob einen Schrei der Wut. Das Volk zischte die Waehler aus, als sie mit gesenkten Blicken ueber die Engelsbruecke zogen, und laechelnd dankte Gonzaga den Schreiern, dass sie sich mit Schimpfreden begnuegten, statt die oeffentliche Schmach durch Steinwuerfe zu raechen.*" Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt* Rom, VIII, 382.

ury on the brink of bankruptcy.[3] Recurrent outbreaks of the plague brought misery and distress. And, finally, the growing insurrection in Germany demanded more attention than even a zealous and virtuous Pontiff like Adrian could give.

It is not surprising, therefore, to notice a marked contrast in the reigns of the two Popes, Leo X and Adrian VI. To the new Pontiff, in his advanced age, the customs and culture of the pleasure-loving people of the South were disgusting. His impassionate nature and scholastic mind could not be reconciled to the frivolities so prominent in the court and in the times of his jolly predecessor. How could he content himself with haughty rhymsters, singers, dancers, actors, poets and second-grade scholars, when there was so imperative a need of ecclesiastical reform in all classes of society, and all countries of Europe?

The only consistent course open to him was to disband the curia of Leo. This he did without much delay.[4] In fact, his attempts at reform here were, perhaps, too radical. The chancery experienced a lack of scholarship and inefficiency resulted. Among the ejected officials was even the trustworthy Sadoleto.[5]

That resentment and indignation ran high, need hardly be stated.[6] One of the best examples of satirical wit was the "*Capitolo*" of Francesco Berni, which "ranks as one of the boldest in the Italian literature of that age."[7] No less offensive was the conduct of the other *literati*, and, for that part, of the Roman people in general. When the Pope died their venomous attacks, which assailed him as "an ass, wolf, and harpy, and compared (him) to Caracalla and Nero" could be seen in conspicuous places. It is unfortunate that posterity has with

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[3] Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IX, 3.
[4] Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 395.
[5] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, IX, 114 sq.
[6] Cf. Lepitre, 260.
[7] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, IX, 118 sq. Symonds, *Italian Literature*, II, 368.

so little discrimination assimilated these reports, and concluded Adrian to have been the arch-enemy of learning.[8]

Surely the Pope's devotion to the sciences and arts before his elevation, and his studious habits, even while ruling the Church, cannot be entirely disregarded in the formation of a fair judgment. This much seems clear, that he was not in sympathy with the humanistic culture so much worshipped by Leo and his happy associates. But even here his antipathy was directed against the moral laxity of so many of the *literati* rather than against the new learning itself.[9] For this reason he occasionally delighted in showing his contempt for the personnel of Leo's court and for the object of their worship. A stinging reproof was administered, for example, to the versifiers, when he appointed Giovio to a benefice at Como, on the ground that he was a historian and not a poet.[10] No one was more interested in the study of Philosophy and Theology than Adrian himself. "He could not bear ignorant priests,"[11] and sought to bring about a Renaissance of Theology in the Vatican.[12] He encouraged intellectual enterprises and gladly received the dedications from learned men.[13]

There are no records to prove that Adrian made any additions or changes with respect to the Vaticana.[14] Nor did he manifest much interest in the Roman or other Universities. His house at Louvain, however, was converted into a college for poor students, and richly endowed by him.

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8 Even the scholarly Muentz, calls him "*Cet ennemi des lettres et des livres.*" *.La Bibliotheque du Vatican,* au XVIe Siecle, 64.

9 Cf. Lepitre, 259.

10 Lepitre, *op. cit.,* 259.

11 Pastor, *op. cit.,* IX, 71.

12 Lepitre, *op. cit.,* 251.

13 As for Example Cardinal Cajetan's "Third part of the Commentary on St. Thomas; the work of Johann Eck, on Penance and Auricular Confession; two apologetic works from Johannes Flaminio."

14 Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.,* 64.

CHAPTER XVII.

Pope Clement VII.

Whilst animosity towards the dead Pope still ran high, the Sacred College elected to the office of Supreme Pontiff the cousin and chief adviser of Leo X, Giulio de' Medici. No Cardinal in Rome was better known than he, nor could a more widely approved selection have been made. The sparkling days of the other Medici Pope were still fresh in the minds and hearts of the Roman populace, and naturally much rejoicing followed upon the disclosure of the choice. "Never had there been such a crowd, never such plaudits as at the coronation of Clement VII."[1] Especially pleased were the disconsolate scholars, for they saw in the election a hasty return of the sunny days of Leo's first years. The Cardinals favorable disposition to the learned men, and his generous patronage of them had made him a universal favorite. It had been his custom to surround himself with a bevy of scholars and to accept dedications from them with "Renaissance gratitude."[2] His devotion to the sciences and arts rang true, therefore, to the Medici reputation, and expectations were "pitched high."

The *literati* were not disappointed. The new Pope, at the beginning of his reign showed such zeal for learning that he threatened to eclipse the splendor of his reputed cousin. While avoiding the extravagant excesses of his kinsman, his mind was quick to detect scholars of merit. The hosts of jesters, musicians, dancers and *improvisatori* whom Adrian had already ejected from the sacred precincts of the Vatican were never re-admitted. Their

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[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, V, 240. Guicciardini, *History of Italy*, VII, 357.

[2] Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, VII, II, 381.

places were taken by deserving talents, who again came to Rome in large numbers.[3]

Sannazzaro finished in 1526 the printed edition of his "*De Partu Virginis*" and dedicated it to the new Pope. Clement received it with pleasure and "assured the author of his favor, requesting him to come to Rome as soon as convenient." This Sannazzaro refused to do because of the troubled conditions of the Metropolis. The saintly Vida, too, was busy at the "*Christiade*" requested of him by Leo. He completed the work in 1535, a year after Clement's demise. However, the Pope showed his appreciation by conferring upon Vida the bishopric of Alba.[4]

It was during Clement's time that Erasmus entered the pontifical service. Though Adrian had solicited his talents in defense of the Church and invited him to Rome, Erasmus had declined. He now came to Rome and dedicated to the Pope his "*Paraphrase on the Acts of the Apostles*," for which he received a present of two hundred gold gulden. The friendship between Clement and the gifted humanist was strengthened when the latter apologized for the rashness of his earlier writings and promised to take a definite stand against Luther and his doctrines.[5]

The historian, Francesco Guicciardini, of whom we have spoken before, was intrusted with several important diplomatic charges, though he made no notable contributions to historical literature at this time.[6] Paolo Giovio, the favorite of Adrian, was made bishop of

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3 *Jene Schmarotzerliteratur, die unter Leo X. den Vatican gefuellt, aus welchen dessen Nachfolger sie vertrieben hatte wofuer sie sich mit Epigrammen raechte, jenes leichtfertig nutzlose Literatenwesen welches zu einem Papste am wenigsten passte, lebte unter Clemens nicht wieder auf. Dieser, ein Mann von ernstem Wesen, fand an solchem Treiben nicht nur keinen Geschmack, die Bedraengniss der Zeit, selbst vor dem Jahre* 1527, *wuerde auch dergleichen Velleitaeten, haette er sie getheilt, in den Weg getreten sein. Clemens VII. war von tuechtigen Maennern umgeben.*" Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, 364.

4 Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, IV, 595.

5 Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, X, 338.

6 Guicciardini, *op. cit.*, I, i-xxxi.

Nocera de Pagani and the recipient of various favors. From Niccolo Machiavelli, the Pope requested a history of Florence. This was completed in 1525 and appeared from the press, graced with special pontifical privileges, in the year 1532. The author received a present of one hundred ducats, but was disappointed in his hopes of being reinstated in political circles.[7]

Clement also received and honored the poet Berni, whose attitude towards Adrian VI has been noted. His carefree conduct resulted, however, in his eventual dismissal from the Pope's service. Nor did the dissolute life of the Tuscan Agnolo Firenzuola prove an obstacle to his favorable reception.[8] One of the most conspicuous places among the *literati* was at this time held by Pietro Aretino, a time-honored friend of Clement. Due to certain circumstances resulting from a broil in which he had engaged, he left the Curia at Rome and devoted his talents to attacks upon the Papacy.[9] The employment of Claudio Tolomei of Siena added rather to the darker side of Clement's administration.[10] Baldassare Castiglione and Giovanni Rucellai were sent on diplomatic missions.[11]

A long list of names of prominent men might be added were this necessary to bring out the fact that Clement VII belongs to the promoters of learning and the patrons of scholars.[12] The Renaissance was, however, in its decline. Literary patronage alone could not save it, even though it came from the Supreme head of Christendom itself. For it was not so much the lack of talent or patronage that brought about this decline, but rather the disturbed religious, civil and social conditions of this period.

With respect to the Vatican Library, Clement VII

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7 Cf. Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 365.
8 Roscoe, *Life of Leo X*, III, 278.
9 Pastor, *op. cit.*, IX, 9, X, 341.
10 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 336.
11 Reumont, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 348.
12 We refer the reader to Pastor, History of the Popes, X, 342 sq. for a more complete list of names.

continued the policy of his zealous cousin, adding both written and printed works in every language. He retained in service Johann Heitmers, constituted him the "*Inquisitor antiquorum librorum*"[13] and sent him again to foreign countries for books and manuscripts.[14] Clement was especially stirred by the report that a precious manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul existed in one of the northern libraries. He wanted it at any price since he hoped that it would be of special service in the promotion of religion. Aleader continued in the office of prefect of the library and was assisted in the framing of an index of the library in 1533 by Faustino Sateus and Nicolo Majorano.[15] The regulations for the loan of books were made stricter, so that only persons of distinction could obtain them.[16]

The inception of Clement's reign promised fair for the Roman University. If we accept the opinion of Renazzi, it was not Leo X that remodeled the buildings erected by Alexander VI but rather Clement.[17] Leo had indeed conceived the plan, but never put it into execution. Clement now invited distinguished men to lecture in the University and paid them generously. He succeeded in obtaining Erasmus, Romolo Amaseo, Pierio Valeriano, Pietro Alcionio and many others.[18] But his enthusiasm was shortlived. The wars between Francis I and Charles V gradually engaged more of his attention to the prejudice of learning and scholarship. Ere long he began to neglect the professors, reduced their salaries, and eventually sacrificed the sympathy of the Roman people.[19]

The sacking of the Eternal City in the fifth year of

13 Muentz, *La Bibliotheque du Vatican au XVIe siecle*, 65.
14 Cf. Brief of Jan. 17, 1526 in Pastor, *op. cit.*, X, 482.
15 Muentz, *op. cit.*, 66.
16 Cf. Muentz, *op. cit.*, 66 sqq., regarding some of the formalities connected with the loan of books.
17 Renazzi, *Storia dell' Universita di Roma*, II, 82.
18 Renazzi, *op. cit.*, II, 82 sqq.; Pastor, *op. cit.*, X, 342 sq.
19 Platina, *Lives of the Popes*, II, 53.

Clement's pontificate brought to an abrupt end the literary activities at Rome. Many of the scholars fled, others were overtaken with sickness and not a few met with a violent death. "In that overwhelming catastrophe many an artist and many a scholar perished, or suffered grievous losses, or passed into exile. The learned recluse, who had aided Raphael in the study of Vitruvius, died a miserable death in a hospital; the literary critic of the Latin poets of that age, Lilio Giraldi, had to lament the loss of all his books; the writer of the eulogies of learned men, Paolo Giovio, was bereft of his only copy of part of the first decade of his great History of Rome, while the head of the Roman Academy saw most of his fine collection of manuscript and antiquities dispersed and destroyed. Valeriano was absent from Rome during this appalling calamity, but on his return he found in the strange adventures of those who had lingered in the doomed city, much of the material for his work "on the misfortune of scholars."

Immediately after the great disaster, men were saying on all sides that the light of the world had perished. Sadoleto, who had left for his bishopric in the South of France, wrote to the head of the Roman Academy, recalling the happy meetings that had now been broken up by the cruel fate of Rome. He, himself, received a letter from Bembo, who had withdrawn to Padua, exhorting him to bury their common misfortune in a life of study; and another from Erasmus saying that this terrible event had affected the whole earth; for Rome was not only the fortress of the Christian religion, the instructress of noble minds, but also the mother of the nations; her fall was not the fall of the city, but of the world."[20] The growing Reformation in the North followed by the Catholic Reaction with its Council at Trent, gave evidence of the decline of the old and the rise of a new period in the history of education.

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[20] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 123.

CONCLUSION.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory summary of the study which we have now made. The differences between the individual pontificates are too numerous and too striking to permit an accurate review in a few sentences. There are, however, several important conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing considerations which deserve special emphasis.

Most significant of all is the fact that the Papacy, generally speaking, was favorable to the Revival of learning. Popes Nicholas V, Sixtus IV and Leo X, as a matter of fact, made the promotion of learning and the encouragement of scholars one of the chief concerns of their reigns. Eugene IV, Pius II, Alexander VI and Clement VII, though somewhat less zealous, employed many learned men and warmly indorsed the new interest in intellectual culture. Martin V and Paul II were opposed to the indiscriminate revival and use of the pagan classics, but in no way hostile to Christian humanism or to learning in general. Calixtus III, Innocent VIII and Julius II were indifferent to humanism and only slightly interested in intellectual affairs of any kind; it would be wrong, however, to regard them as opposed to the scholastic activities that were going on during their reigns. The Dutch Pope, Adrian VI, has generally been considered inimical to learning. Our study shows that he was unfriendly only to the humanists, and that he loved and supported other scholars.

The importance of the Papal patronage for the success of the Renaissance appears at once from a comparison of the different pontificates. At Rome the learned men congregated or dispersed; the letters, sciences and arts flourished or came to grief according to the disposi-

tion of the ruling Pope. The Revival, in fact, was the work of men in power rather than the work of a nation or an aggregate of individuals. It was the encouragement which the rulers of Christendom gave the learned men that brought scholars to the Eternal City from all parts of the world. Budding talent no less than aged savants realized that learning was entering upon its own.

Courts throughout Europe, encouraged by the example of the Popes, demanded scholars. The Cardinals and Bishops of Italy, and transalpine countries as well, reproduced in miniature at their courts the life of the Vatican. Indeed, a friendly rivalry arose between the Papal court and the prominent noble houses of Italy. One tried to surpass the other in the perfection of its correspondence and official documents no less than in the splendor of its intellectual life. It seems, however, that Rome, especially during the pontificates of Nicholas V, Sixtus IV and Leo X remained the common meeting place for humanists and scholars and that it was principally from the Vatican that the torches of humanism were carried to Spain, France and northern Europe.

The patronage and munificence shown towards the scholars naturally stimulated their devotion to the new studies all the more. The re-creation of the literary splendor of classical antiquity became the *magnum desideratum*. Some zealots of the Revival unfortunately advised a return to pagan philosophy and standards of living, but there were serious minded scholars in great number, whose highest ideals were the mastery of the style and grace of past ages. This is the phase of the movement which the Popes indorsed. We notice, therefore, a decided turning away from the scholastic curriculum to the study of languages. Latin and Greek were cultivated with unprecedented fervor, and for their own sake. To further these studies the Popes invited prominent scholars from all parts of the world to Rome and paid them well. The many literary and other works

which made their appearance at this time, and in the production of which the Supreme Pontiffs were the moving cause, are a visible expression of the enthusiasm which must have prevailed.

With the ever widening interest in the ancient writers sprang up very naturally a great demand for their works. The sacrifices which the Papacy made to supply this demand constitutes probably the greatest service which its patronage rendered to the Renaissance. Unquestionably many of the old classics which we have today would have been irreparably lost if not for the zeal of the noble Popes in founding and supporting the Vaticana. How fortunate for scholars that at the very time when the great library of Constantinople was being destroyed and the literary treasures which it contained were about to be burnt, the agents of Pope Nicholas V were busy buying all the manuscripts that they could possibly transport to Rome. The Vatican, as a result, became the great book center of the world. Here copyists—and later printers—labored day and night to multiply rare volumes. Translators were engaged in rendering them into Latin and thus making them of greater service to the less fortunate scholars, who, besides their mother tongue, knew only Latin. Eventually the crystallized wisdom and art of ancient Greece and Rome were placed at the disposal of the multitude, when the neatly adorned volumes, with their illuminated pages, were placed on the shelves of the public library of the Vatican.

The Roman University, which had fallen into ruin during the exile, was restored and at different intervals flourished. It is true that on several occasions it threatened to fall a prey to adverse circumstances, but as conditions changed and a more friendly Pontiff was elected it quickly regained its luster.

While none of the Popes could point to the University as the best expression of his patronage of learning, the interest which the Papacy took in the teaching profession had far-reaching consequences. In the early part of the Fifteenth Century representatives of the new learn-

ing and teachers of humanism were practically without employment. Universities frowned upon them. Within a short time, however, and due in good measure to the Pontifical approval of the new curriculum, chairs were opened to them. As the Revival progressed the demand for them grew, so that, within a comparatively short period, the humanists became the best paid teachers in many of the larger universities. It was a singular victory for the pedagogues, since now they could travel from one university to another and be assured of a hearty welcome.

Considering the dependence of the scholars, the Vatican Library, the Roman University and the teaching profession itself upon the Papal patronage of the Renaissance period, we venture the opinion, that unsustained by pontifical favor the Revival of Learning would have perished in its infancy, or at most would have attained only a degree of that glory which history now accords it.

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